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THE

HISTORY OF THE PURITANS;

OR,

PROTESTANT NONCONFORMISTS;

FROM THE

REFORMATION IN 1517.

TO

THE REVOLUTION IN 1688:

COMPRISING AN

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ACCOUNT OF THEIR PRINCIPLES;

THEIR ATTEMPTS FOR A FARTHER REFORMATION IN THE CHURCH;

THEIR SUFFERINGS;

AND THE

LIVES AND CHARACTERS OF THEIR MOST CONSIDERABLE DIVINES.

BY DANIEL NEAL, M. A.

A NEW EDITION, IN FIVE VOLUMES:

REPRINTED FROM THE

TEXT OF DR. TOULMIN'S EDITION,

WITH HIS

LIFE OF THE AUTHOR AND ACCOUNT OF HIS WRITINGS.

REVISED, CORRECTED, AND ENLARGED.

VOL. V.

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR WILLIAM BAYNES AND SON,
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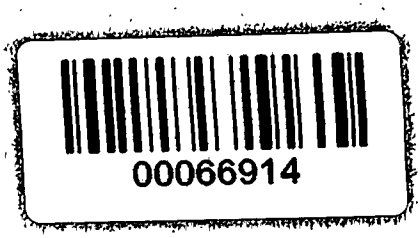

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DR. TOULMIN'S ADVERTISEMENT

TO

VOL. IV. OF THE FORMER EDITION.

THE volume of Mr. Neal's History of the Puritans now presented to the public, besides the additions made to it in the form of notes, is considerably enlarged by supplemental chapters. These comprise the continued history of the English Baptists and Quakers, and furnish the reader with the substance of Mr. Crosby's history of the former, and a full abstract of Mr. Gough's work concerning the latter sect. The editor hopes, that in this part of his undertaking he has not only done justice, and shewed respect, to two denominations who, in the last century, were treated neither with humanity nor equity, but afforded the reader information and entertainment.

Where he has seen reason to animadvert on and correct Mr. Neal, it were sufficient to rest his justification on the plea of impartiality and the love of truth. But to the honour of his author he can add, he has only done what was wished by him; who, in his preface to the first volume, has said,* "I shall be always thankful to any that will convince me of my mistakes in a friendly manner;" and in that to the third volume has more fully expressed himself in this manner: "In historical debates, nothing is to be received upon trust, but facts are to be examined, and a judgment formed upon the authority by which those facts are supported; by this method we shall arrive at truth, and if it shall appear that, in the course of this long history, there are any considerable mistakes, the world may be assured, I will take the first opportunity to retract or amend them."†

The editor can declare, that it has been his own aim to do full justice to the sects and characters of those who have, in this work, come before him in review, and he can boldly appeal to his pen itself to prove the sincerity of his declaration. He scarcely would have thought of making this appeal, if in an early stage of his undertaking it had not been insinuated, that it was his design to make this work a vehicle for conveying particular opinions in theology, and that his own sentiments made him an unfit person for the task. He has, indeed, sentiments of his own; but he can estimate good-

* P. xiv. † P. xii.

ness and worth wherever they are found. He has sentiments of his own, but he rejoices in the consciousness of a disposition to grant to others a full liberty to avow, defend, and disseminate, their sentiments, though opposite to his own; and can give them the praise due to their abilities and characters.

It is a pleasure to him, that the examination of the writers who have censured Mr. Neal with severity, has eventually established the authenticity of the history, and the candour and impartiality of the author, in all the main parts of his work. It reflects high and lasting honour on this ecclesiastical history, that if the author were convicted by a Warburton, a Maddox, and a Grey, of partiality, it could be only such a partiality as might arise from a zeal against tyrants and oppressors. The work has, on the whole, a liberal cast; it is on the side of civil and religious liberty; it is in favour of the rights of Englishmen, against unconstitutional prerpgative; it is in favour of the rights of conscience, against an imperious and persecuting hierarchy, whether Episcopal or Presbyterian; it is in favour of the great interests of mankind; and, to adopt the words of a most able and liberal writer;* "A history that is written without any regard to the chief privileges of human nature, and without feelings, especially of the moral kind, must lose a considerable part of its instruction and energy."

* Dr. Kippis: Preface to the first volume of the second edition of the Biographia Britannica, p. 21.

DR. TOULMIN'S ADVERTISEMENT

TO

VOL. V. OF THE FORMER EDITION.

THIS edition of Mr. Neal's "History of the Puritans," after many interruptions, being at length completed, and the last volume being now presented to the public, the editor embraces this occasion to make his acknowledgments to the gentlemen who have assisted and encouraged his design. He feels his obligations to those who by their names and subscriptions have patronised it; and he is much indebted to some who, by the communication of books and manuscripts, have aided the execution of it. Situated, as he is, at a great distance from the metropolis, and the libraries there open to the studious, he sees not how he could have enjoyed the means of examining Mr. Neal's authorities, in any extensive degree, and of ascertaining the accuracy of the statements by an inspection of the writers of the last century, had not his grace the duke of Grafton most handsomely offered, and most readily supplied, a great number of books necessary to that purpose, from his large and valuable libraries.

Some books of great authority were obligingly handed to him by Henry Waymouth, esq. of Exeter. His thanks are also due to the Rev. Josiah Thompson, of Clapham, and to Edmund Calamy, esq. To the former, for the free use of his manuscript collections, relative to the history of the dissenting churches; and to the latter, for the opportunity of perusing a manuscript of his worthy and learned ancestor, Dr. Edmund Calamy, entitled, "An Historical Account of my own Life, with some Reflections on the Times I have lived in." He has been likewise much indebted to a respectable member of the society of Quakers, Mr. Morris Birkbeck, of Wanborough, Surrey, for his judicious remarks on Mr. Neal, and for furnishing him with Gough's valuable history of that people.

Taunton, August 11th, 1796.

ADVERTISEMENT

TO THE

PRESENT EDITION.

In revising Dr. Toulmin's edition of this work for republication, it was found to abound with typographical errors, to a degree almost unprecedented in the present day, owing probably, to the great distance at which he resided from the place where it was printed. These have consequently been corrected; but both Mr. Neal's text, and the notes of his former edition, remain as in the last edition. Considerable alterations, however, have been made in the disposal of his supplemental matter. Valuable as the doctor's additions to Mr. Neal's History certainly are, every one must have been struck with the extreme awkwardness and injudicious method of arranging his materials; particularly as it regarded the size of his volumes; some of which comprised seven or eight hundred pages, while the fifth contained only half that number. In order to render the volumes, in this new edition, as near as possible, of an equal size, the history of the Baptists and Quakers, which Dr. Toulmin had dealt out by piecemeal, and interspersed throughout the volumes, is now collected into an unbroken narrative, and given as a SUPPLEMENT to vol. V. This, it is presumed, will be generally regarded as a material improvement in various respects, and cannot fail to confer upon the present edition a decided superiority to all that have preceded it. Some important additions have also been introduced into this part of the work, by which, it is hoped, the value of the publication is still farther augmented: and, upon the whole, the work cannot fail in its present state to recommend itself to every friend of civil and religious liberty as the most valuable history of the kind that is extant in our language.

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HISTORY

OF

THE PURITANS.

CHAP. I.

FROM THE DEATH OF KING CHARLES II. TO KING JAMES II.'s DECLARATION FOR LIBERTY OF CONSCIENCE.

1685.

WHEN the news of king Charles's decease was spread over the city, a pensive sadness was visible in most countenances for the fate of the kingdom.* His brother James, who succeeded him, told the privy-council at his first meeting them, that "as he would never depart from any branch of the prerogative, so he would not invade any man's property, but would preserve the government as by law established in church and state."† Which gratified the clergy so much,

* Bishop Burnet says, that the proclamation of the king "was a heavy solemnity; few tears were shed for the former, nor were there any shouts of joy for the present king." It appears that the bishop, who was then abroad, was misinformed in this matter: for Dr. Calamy, who heard the king proclaimed, assures us, that his heart ached within him at the acclamations made upon the occasion; which, as far as he could observe, were very general: though he never saw so universal a concern as was visible in all men's countenances at that time: for great numbers had very terrifying apprehensions of what was to be expected. The doctor observes, that it however very sensibly discovered the changeableness of this world, that king James should so quietly succeed his brother without any thing like a dispute or contest; when, but five years before, a majority of three houses of commons were so bent upon excluding him, that nothing could satisfy them, if this were not compassed. Calamy's Historical Account of his own Life, vol. 1. p. 95. MSS.—ED.

† "This speech (bishop Burnet adds) was magnified as a security far greater than any that laws could give." The common phrase was, "We have now the word of a king, and a word never yet broken." Of this Dr. Calamy gives a confirmation on the authority of a person of character and worth, who heard Dr. Sharp, afterward archbishop of York, as he was preaching at St. Lawrence Jewry at the time, when king James gave this assurance, break out into language to this effect: "As to our religion, we have the word of the king, which (with reverence be it spoken) is as sacred as my text." This high flight was much noticed then, and often recollected afterward. The doctor had cause to reflect on it with regret: when he was, for preaching against Popery at his own parish-church of St. Giles, the first of the clergy that fell under the king's displeasure, and felt the weight and pressure of his arbitrary power. Historical Account, p. 96. Burnet, p. 620.—ED.

that the pulpits throughout England resounded with thanksgivings; and a numerous set of addresses flattered his majesty, in the strongest expressions, with assurances of unshaken loyalty and obedience, without limitation or reserve. Among others was the humble address of the university of Oxford; in which, after expressing their sorrow for the death of the late king, they add,* that they can never swerve from the principles of their institution, and their religion by law established, which indispensably binds them to bear faith and true obedience to their sovereign, without any limitation or restriction, and that no consideration whatsoever should shake their loyalty and allegiance. And the university of Cambridge add, that loyalty [or unlimited obedience] is a duty flowing from the very principle of their religion, by which they have been enabled to breed up as true and steady subjects as the world can shew, as well in doctrine as practice, from which they can never depart. The Quakers' address was more simple and honest;† "We are come (say they‡) to testify our sorrow for the death of our good friend Charles, and our joy for thy being made our governor. We are told thou art not of the persuasion of the church of England no more than we, therefore we hope thou wilt grant us the same liberty which thou allowest thyself; which doing, we wish thee all manner of happiness."§

The king began his reign with a frank and open profession of his religion; for the first Sunday after his accession, he went publicly to mass, and obliged father Huddleston, who attended his brother in his last hours, to declare to the world that he died a Roman Catholic. His majesty acted the part

* Gazette, no. 2018. † Sewel, p. 594. ‡ Echard, p. 1051.

§ Mr. Neal refers, as one authority for giving this address of the Quakers, to Sewel; but it is not to be found there. A modern historian, who censures it for the "uncouthness and blunt familiarity of expression," calls it, "a fictitious address;" the members of this society, he observes, "were not in the custom of paying complimentary addresses to any man:" if the sufferings of their friends impelled them to apply to their superiors for relief, "their addresses, though expressed in their plain manner, were comprised in respectful terms; void of flattery, but not indecent; unceremonious, but not uncivil." There is no account of their being in the number of the congratulatory addresses on the accession of James. Their first application to him was to recommend their suffering friends to his clemency. At the death of Charles, notwithstanding that petition upon petition had been presented to him for relief, one thousand five hundred of this society were in prison on various prosecutions. "So that a people paying a strict regard to truth could hardly term him their good friend." The above address was first published by Echard, from whom it should seem Mr. Neal took it, trusting probably to the exactness of his reference; if he did quote Sewel for it. Hume and others have since published it. Gough's History of the Quakers, vol. 3. p. 160, 161.—Ed.

of an absolute sovereign from the very first; and though he had declared he would invade no man's property, yet he issued out a proclamation for collecting the duties of tonnage and poundage, &c. which were given to the late king only for life; and in his letter to the Scots parliament, which met March 28, he says, "I am resolved to maintain my power in its greatest lustre, that I may be better able to defend your religion against fanatics."

Before the king had been two months on his throne, he discovered severe resentments against the enemies of his religion, and of his succession to the crown.* Dr. Oates was brought out of prison, and tried for perjury in the affair of the Popish plot, for which he was sentenced to stand in the pillory several times, to be whipped from Aldgate to Newgate, and from thence to Tyburn; which was exercised with a severity unknown to the English nation.† And Dangerfield, who had invented the Meal-tub plot, for which he declared he had received money from the duke of York, was

* Burnet, vol. 3. p. 29, Edin. edition.

† Oates was whipped a second time, while his back was most miserably swelled with his first whipping, and looked as if it had been flayed. He was a man of undaunted resolution, and endured what would have killed a great many others. He was, in his religious profession, a mere Proteus, but appears to have been uniformly capable of villany. His first education was at Merchant-Taylors' school; from whence he removed to Cambridge. When he left that university he gained orders in the church of England, and after having officiated for a time as curate to his father, he held a vicarage first in Kent and then in Sussex. But previously to this, he was, in his youth, a member of a Baptist church in Virginia-street, Ratcliffe-Highway. In 1677 he reconciled himself to the church of Rome, and is reported to have entered into the society of Jesuits. After having left the whole body of dissenters for thirty years, he applied to be again admitted into the communion of the Baptists, having first returned to the church of England, and continued in it about sixteen years. The Baptists, through a prudent jealousy of him, spent almost three years in trial of his sincerity, before they received him again: so that he complained it "was keeping him on the rack; is was worse than death in his circumstances to be so long delayed." He was restored to their communion in 1698 or 1699, but in less than a year was again excluded as a disorderly person and a hypocrite. He then became a conformist again. "He was a man of some cunning (says Granger), more effrontery, and the most consummate falsehood." At one time he was a frequent auditor of Mr. Alsop at Westminster, after the Revolution: and moved for leave to come to the Lord's table, but was refused on account of his character. Crosby has detailed a long story of a villanous transaction, to ruin a gentleman, to which he was instigated by the spirit of revenge. Dr. Calamy says, "that he was but a very sorry foul-mouthed wretch, I myself can attest from what I once heard from him, when I was in his company." The parliament, after the Revolution, left him under a brand, and incapacitated him for being a witness in future. But a pension of 400*l.* a year was given him by king William. "The era of Oates's plot (remarks Mr. Granger), was the grand era of whig and tory." Whatever infamy rests upon his name, he was, observes Dr. Calamy, the instrument of Providence of good to this nation by awakening it out of sleep, and giving a turn to the national affairs after a lethargy of some years. Calamy's Historical Account of his own Life, vol. 1. p. 98, 99. Granger's History of England, vol. 4. p. 201. 349; and Crosby's History of the Baptists, vol. 3. p. 166—182. —Ed.

indicted for a libel, and was fined 500*l.* He was also sentenced to be pilloried, and whipped from Newgate to Tyburn, and in his return home was murdered in the coach by one Frances a barrister at law, who was afterward hanged for it. The whigs, who went to court to pay their duty to the king, were received but coldly; some were reproached, and others denied access, especially those who had distinguished themselves for the bill of exclusion.* In the election of a new parliament, all methods of corruption and violence were used to get such members returned as might be supple to the king's arbitrary designs.† When the houses met, May 22, the king repeated what he had declared in council, that he would preserve the government in church and state as by law established. Which, Rapin says, he never intended; for he insinuated in his speech, that he would not depend on the precarious aids of parliament, nor meet them often, if they did not use him well.‡ But the parliament unanimously settled all the revenues of his late majesty upon the king for life, which amounted to more than two millions a year;§ and presented an address May 27, to desire him to issue forth his royal proclamation, to cause the penal laws to be put in execution against dissenters from the church of England.

This brought down the storm, and revived the persecution, which had slackened a little upon the late king's death. His majesty was now encouraged to pursue his brother's measures. The tories, who adhered firmly to the prerogative, were gratified with full licence to distress the dissenters, who were to be sacrificed over again to a bigoted clergy, and an incensed king, zealous for their destruction, says bishop Kennet, in order to unite and increase the strength of Popery, which he favoured without reserve. Upon this, all meeting-houses of Protestant dissenters were shut up, the

* Burnet, vol. 3. p. 12, 13. Edin. edition.

† Dr. Grey quotes here Echard and Carte, to prove that the new parliament consisted of as many worthy and great, rich, and wise men, as ever sat in the house. —Ed.

‡ Gazette, no. 2036.

§ "The commons, charmed with these promises, and bigoted as much to their principles of government as the king was to his religion, in about two hours voted him such an immense revenue for life, as enabled him to maintain a fleet and army without the aid of parliament, and consequently to subdue those who should dare to oppose his will. In this manner, and without any farther ceremony, did this house of commons deliver up the liberties of the nation to a Popish arbitrary prince." Warner's Ecclesiastical History, vol. 2. p. 631.—Ed.

old trade of informing revived and flourished; the spiritual courts were crowded with business: private conventicles were disturbed in all parts of the city and country. If they surprised the minister, he was pulled out of his pulpit by constables or soldiers, and, together with his people, carried before a confiding justice of peace, who obliged them to pay their fines, or dragged them to prison. If the minister escaped, they ransacked the house from top to bottom; tore down hangings, broke open chambers and closets; entered the rooms of those who were sick; and offered all kinds of rudeness and incivilities to the family, though they met with no manner of opposition or resistance. Shopkeepers were separated from their trades and business; and sometimes wives from their husbands and children; several families were obliged to remove to distant places, to avoid the direful effects of an excommunication from the commons; and great sums of money were levied as forfeitures, which had been earned by honest labour. Dissenting ministers could neither travel the road, nor appear in public but in disguise; nay, they were afraid to be seen in the houses of their friends, pursuivants from the spiritual courts being always abroad upon the watch.

One of the first who came into trouble was the reverend Mr. Baxter, who was committed to the King's-bench prison February 28, for some exceptionable passages in his paraphrase on the New Testament, reflecting on the order of diocesan bishops, and the lawfulness of resistance in some possible cases. The passages were in his paraphrase on Matt. v. 19. Mark ix. 39. xi. 31. and xii. 38—40. Luke x. 2. John xi. 57. and Acts xv. 2. They were collected by sir Roger *l'Estrange*; and a certain eminent clergyman, reported to be Dr. Sh——ck, put into the hands of his enemies, some accusations from Rom. xiii. that might touch his life, but no use was made of them. Mr. Baxter being ill, moved by his counsel for time; but Jefferies said, he would not give him a minute's time to save his life. "Yonder stands Oates in the pillory (says he), and if Mr. Baxter stood on the other side, I would say, two of the greatest rogues in England stood there." He was brought to his trial May 30, but the chief-justice would not admit his counsel to plead for their client. When Mr. Baxter offered to speak for himself, Jefferies called him a snivel-

ling, canting Presbyterian, and said, "Richard, Richard, don't thou think we will hear thee poison the court. Richard, thou art an old fellow, and an old knave; thou hast written books enough to load a cart, every one as full of sedition, I might say of treason, as an egg is full of meat; hadst thou been whipped out of thy writing trade forty years ago, it had been happy. Thou pretendest to be a preacher of the gospel of peace; as thou hast one foot in the grave, 'tis time for thee to begin to think what account thou intendest to give; but leave thee to thyself, and I see thou wilt go on as thou hast begun; but by the grace of God, I will look after thee. I know thou hast a mighty party, and I see a great many of the brotherhood in corners, waiting to see what will become of their mighty don, and a doctor of the party [doctor Bates] at your elbow, but by the grace of Almighty God, I will crush you all." The chief-justice having directed the jury, they found him guilty, without going from the bar, and fined him five hundred marks, to lay in prison till he paid it, and be bound to his good behaviour for seven years. Mr. Baxter continued in prison* about two years, and when the court changed its measures, his fine was remitted, and he was released.

* Dr. Grey has given us, with apparent approbation, what he calls a characteristical epitaph, drawn up for Mr. Baxter by the Rev. Thomas Long, prebendary of Exeter. It shews what different colours a character can receive, according to the dispositions of those who draw the picture; and how obnoxious Mr. Baxter was to some, whose calumnies and censure the reader perhaps will think was true praise. It runs thus: "Hic jacet Richardus Baxter, theologus armatus, loiolita reformatus, heresiarcha ærianus, schismaticorum antesignanus; cujus pruritus disputandi¶ peperit scriptandi cacoëthes nutrivit, prædicandi zelus intemperatus maturavit ecclesiæ scabiem. Qui dissentit ab iis, quibuscum consentit maximó: tum sibi, cum aliis nonconformis præteritis, præsentibus et futuris: regum et episcoporum juratus hostis: ipsumq; rebellium solemne fœdus. Qui natus erat per septuaginti annos, et octoginta libros, ad perturbandas regni respublicas, et ad bis perdendam ecclesiam Anglicanam; magnis tamen exeidit ausis. Deo gratias." Grey's Examination, vol. 2. p. 281, note. —Ed.

¶ "These words (says the author of the article, Baxter, in the Biographia Britannica) are an allusion to sir Henry Wotton's monumental inscription in Eton-chapel, 'Hic jacet hujus sententiæ primus author, disputandi pruritus ecclesiarum scabies:' i. e. 'Here lies the first author of this opinion, The itch of disputing is the leprosy of the churches.'" This writer has given the above epitaph in English, thus: "Here lies Richard Baxter, a militant divine, a reformed Jesuit, a brazen heresiarch, and the chief of schismatics, whose itch of disputing begat, whose humour of writing nourished, and whose intemperate zeal in preaching brought to its utmost height, the leprosy of the church: who dissented from those with whom he most agreed: from himself, as well as all other nonconformists, past, present, and to come; the sworn enemy of kings and bishops, and in himself the very bond of rebels: who was born, through seventy years and eighty books, to disturb the peace of the kingdom, and twice to attempt the ruin of the church of England: in the endeavour of which mighty mischiefs he fell short. For which thanks be to God." Biographia Britannica, vol. 2. p. 18, second edition.—Ed.

The rebellion of the duke of Monmouth furnished the court with a plausible handle to carry the prosecution of the whigs and dissenters to a farther extremity. There was a considerable number of English fugitives in Holland at this time, some on political accounts, and others on the score of religion. The king, being apprehensive of danger from thence, obliged the prince of Orange to dismiss the duke of Monmouth from his court, and to break all those officers who had waited upon him, and who were in his service; this precipitated the counsels of the malecontents, and made them resolve upon a rash and ill-concerted invasion, which proved their ruin. The earl of Argyle, imagining all the Scots Presbyterians would revolt, sailed to the north of Scotland with a very small force, and was defeated with the effusion of very little blood, before the declaration* which he brought with him could have any effect. After him the duke of Monmouth, with the like precipitate rashness, landed June 11, with an inconsiderable force at Lyme in Dorsetshire; and though he was joined by great numbers in the west country, he was defeated by the king's forces, made prisoner, and executed on Tower-hill; as was the earl of Argyle at Edinburgh.

Though the body of the dissenters were not concerned in either of these invasions, they suffered considerably on this occasion. Great numbers of their chief merchants and tradesmen in the city, being taken up by warrants, and secured in jails, and in the public halls; as were many country whig gentlemen, in York-castle, Hull, and the prisons in all parts of England, which had this good effect, that it kept them out of harm's way, while many of their friends were ruined by joining the duke; some from a persuasion that the late king was married to his mother; and others in hopes of a deliverance from Popery and arbitrary power.

The king elated with success, resolved to let both whigs

* A full view of the assertions and purport of the duke of Monmouth's manifesto is given in my History of the Town of Taunton, p. 133—135. It was secretly printed in a private house hired for that purpose at Lambeth by W. C. a man of good sense and spirit, and a stationer in Paternoster-row; who imported the paper. His assistant at the press was apprehended and suffered: he himself escaped into Holland, and absconded into Germany, till he came over with the prince of Orange, who, when he was settled on the throne, appointed him his stationer. William Disney, esq. was tried by a special commission upon an indictment of high-treason, for printing and publishing this declaration, and was convicted, and sentenced to be drawn, hanged, and quartered. Dr. Grey's Examination, vol. 3. p. 403, 404.—Ed.

and dissenters feel the weight of the arm of a conqueror: his army lived upon free-quarters in the west, and treated all who were supposed to be disaffected with great rudeness and violence.* Some days after Monmouth's defeat, colonel Kirk ordered several of the prisoners to be hung up at Taunton, without any trial or form of law, while he and his company were dancing, revelling, and drinking healths, at a neighbouring window, with a variety of music, from whence they beheld, with a more than brutish triumph, the dreadful spectacle. The jails being full of prisoners, the king appointed lord-chief-justice Jefferies to go the western circuit, whose cruel behaviour surpassed all that had been ever heard of in a civilized nation: he was always drunk, either with wine or vengeance. When the juries found persons not guilty, he threatened and confined them, till they brought in a verdict to his mind, as in the case of the old lady Lisle, who was beheaded, for admitting Mr. Hicks, a Nonconformist minister, into her house, though the jury brought her in three times not guilty; and she solemnly declared, that she knew not that he had been in the duke's army. He persuaded many of the prisoners to plead guilty, in hopes of favour, and then taking advantage of their confession, ordered their immediate execution, without giving them a minute's time to say their prayers. Mr. Tutchin, who wrote the Observator, was sentenced to be imprisoned seven years, and to be whipped once every year through all the towns in Dorsetshire; upon which he petitioned the king that he might be hanged.† Bishop Burnet says, that in several places in the west, there were executed near six hundred persons, and that the quarters of two or three hundred were fixed upon gibbets, and hung upon trees all over the country for fifty or sixty miles about, to the terror and even annoyance of travellers. The manner in which he treated the prisoners, was barbarous and inhuman; and his behaviour towards some of the nobility and gentry who were well affected, but appeared to the character of some of the criminals, would have amazed one, says bishop Burnet, if done by a bashaw in Turkey. The king had advice of his proceedings every day, and spoke of them in a style neither becoming the majesty nor mercy of a great prince.‡ And

* Burnet, vol. 3. p. 43, Edin. edition.

† Bennet's Memoirs, p. 374, 375, second edit.

‡ Ibid. p. 44, second edit.

Jefferies, besides satiating himself with blood, got great sums of money, by selling pardons to such as were able to purchase them, from 10*l.* to fourteen thousand guineas apiece.*

After the executions in the west, the king, being in the height of his power, resolved to be revenged of his old enemies the whigs, by making examples of their chief leaders: alderman Cornish, who had signalized himself in prosecuting the Popish plot, and was frequently in company with the late lord Russel, was taken off the Exchange October 13, and within little more than a week tried, condemned, and executed, in Cheapside, for high-treason, without any tolerable evidence, and his quarters set upon Guildhall. On the same day Mrs. Gaunt, a dissenter, who spent a great part of her life in acts of charity, visiting the jails, and looking after the poor of what persuasion soever, having entertained Burton, one of Monmouth's men, in her house, he, by an unheard-of baseness, while she was looking out for an opportunity to send him out of the kingdom, went out and accused her for harbouring him, and by that means saved his own life by taking away hers: she was burnt alive at Tyburn, and died with great resolution and devotion.† Mr. Bateman a surgeon, Mr. Rouse, Mr. Fernerley, colonel Ayloffe, Mr. Nelthorpe, and others, suffered in like manner. Lord Stamford was admitted to bail, and lord Delamere was tried by his peers, and acquitted. Many who had corresponded with the duke of Monmouth absconded, and had proclamations against them, as John Trenchard, esq. Mr. Speke, and others. But all who suffered in this cause expressed such a zeal for the Protestant religion, which they apprehended in danger, as made great impressions on the spectators. Some say the king was hurried on by Jefferies; but if his own inclinations had not run strong the same way, and if his priests had not thought it their interest to take off so many active Protestants who opposed their measures, they would not have let that butcher loose, says Burnet, to commit so many barbarous acts of cruelty, as struck a universal horror over the body of the nation. It was a bloody summer, and a dangerous time for honest men to live in.

* The reader is referred to the History of the Town of Taunton for an ample account of the progress and defeat of the duke of Monmouth, and a minute detail of the subsequent severities of Kirk and Jefferies, p. 135—170.—Ed.

† Burnet, p. 45.

When the king met his parliament November 9, he congratulated them on the success of his arms; but told them, that in order to prevent any new disturbances, he was determined to keep the present army together; and "let no man (says his majesty) take exceptions that some officers are not qualified, for they are most of them known to me for the loyalty of their principles and practices; and therefore, to deal plainly with you, after having had the benefit of their services in a time of need and danger, I will neither expose them to disgrace, nor myself to the want of them."*— Thus we were to have a standing army under Popish officers, in defiance of the penal laws and test. The commons would have given them an act of indemnity for what was past, but the king would not accept it; and because the house was not disposed to his dispensing power, he prorogued them Nov. 20, when they had sat only eleven days; and after many successive prorogations, in the space of two years, dissolved them.†

The prosecution of the dissenters, which was carried on with all imaginable severity this and the last year, forced some of their ministers into the church; but it had a different and more surprising influence upon others, who had the courage in these difficult times, to renounce the church as a persecuting establishment, and to take their lot among the Nonconformists;‡ as the reverend Mr. John Spademan M. A. of Swayton in Lincolnshire; Mr. John Rastrick, vicar of Kirton near Boston; Mr. Burroughs of Frampton; Mr. Scoffin of Brotherton; Mr. Quip of Moreton; and a few others; who could be influenced by no other principle but conscience in a cause which had nothing in this world to recommend it but truth, attended with bonds and imprisonment, and the loss of all things.

Great were the oppressions of those who frequented the separate meetings in several counties; the informers broke in upon sir John Hartoppe, Mr. Fleetwood, and others, at Stoke-Newington, to levy distresses for conventicles, to the value of 6 or 7,000*l.*: the like at Enfield, Hackney, and all the neighbouring villages near London.§ The justices and confiding clergy were equally diligent in their several pa-

* Gazette, no. 2085. † Burnet, p. 70, 71.

‡ Calamy's Abridgment, p. 460, &c.

§ Calamy, p. 372, 373; or Palmer's Nonconformists' Memorial, vol. 2. p. 168 —168.

rishes. Injunctions were sent out from several of the bishops, under the seal of their offices, requiring all churchwardens to present such as did not repair to church, nor receive the sacrament at Easter; which were read publicly in the churches of Hertfordshire, Essex, &c. And the juries at the assizes gave it as their opinion, that the dissenters should be effectually prosecuted; but the scandalous villanies and perjuries of the informers made wise men abhor the trade; however, so terrible were the times, that many families and ministers removed with their effects to New-England, and other plantations in America; among whom we may reckon the reverend and worthy Mr. Samuel Lee, the ejected minister of Bishopgate, who in his return to his flock, after the Revolution, was made prisoner by the French, and carried to St. Maloes, where he perished in a dungeon, under the hands of those whose tender mercies are cruel.* Many ministers were fined and imprisoned, and great numbers of their most substantial hearers cited into the commons, their names being fixed upon the doors of their parish-churches; and if they did not appear, an excommunication and a *capias* followed, unless they found means, by presents of wine, by gold in the fingers of a pair of gloves, or some effectual bribe, to get themselves excused; for which, among others, the name of Dr. Pinfold† is famous to this day.

The dissenters continued to take the most prudent measures to cover their private meetings from their adversaries. They assembled in small numbers——they frequently shifted their places of worship, and met together late in the evenings, or early in the mornings—there were friends without doors, always on the watch to give notice of approaching danger—when the dwellings of dissenters joined, they made windows or holes in the walls, that the preacher's voice might be heard in two or three houses——they had sometimes private passages from one house to another, and trap doors for the escape of the minister, who went always in disguise, except when he was discharging his office—in country-towns and villages, they were admitted through

* Palmer's Noncon. Mem. vol. 1. p. 95, 96.

† Dr. Pinfold was a gentleman of the long robe, and was the king's advocate in the prosecution of bishop Compton. But though he stood at the chancellor's elbow and took notes, while the bishop's counsel were pleading, he said nothing by way of reply. Bishop Compton's Life. p. 37.—Ed.

backyards and gardens into the house, to avoid the observation of neighbours and passengers—for the same reason they never sung psalms—and the minister was placed in such an inward part of the house, that his voice might not be heard in the streets—the doors were always locked, and a sentinel placed near them to give the alarm, that the preacher might escape by some private passage, with as many of the congregation as could avoid the informers. But notwithstanding all their precautions, spies and false brethren crept in among them in disguise, their assemblies were frequently interrupted, and great sums of money raised by fines or compositions, to the discouragement of trade and industry, and enriching the officers of the spiritual courts.

Thus were the Nonconformists ground between the Papists on the one hand, and the high-church clergy on the other; while the former made their advantage of the latter, concluding, that when the dissenters were destroyed, or thoroughly exasperated, and the clergy divided among themselves, they should be a match for the hierarchy, and capable of establishing that religion they had been so long aiming to introduce. With this view, swarms of Jesuits and regular priests were sent for from abroad; Jesuits' schools, and other seminaries, were opened in London and the country; mass-houses were erected in the most considerable towns; four Roman-Catholic bishops were consecrated in the royal chapel, and exercised their functions under the character of vicars apostolical; their regular clergy appeared at Whitehall and St. James's in their habits, and were unwearied in their attempts to seduce the common people. The way to preferment was to be a Catholic, or to declare for the prerogative; all state-affairs being managed by such men. An open correspondence was held with Rome, and many pamphlets were dispersed, to make proselytes to the Romish faith, or at least to effect a coalition. Multitudes of the king's subjects frequented the Popish chapels; some changed their profession; and all men were forbid to speak disrespectfully of the king's religion.

At length the eyes of many of the clergy began to be opened, and they judged it necessary to preach against the Popish doctrines, that they might recover the people who were deserting in numbers, and rescue the Protestant religion from the danger into which their own follies had brought

it. The king being acquainted with this, by the advice of his priests sent circular letters to the bishops, with an order, prohibiting the inferior clergy from preaching on the controverted points of religion; which many complained of, though it was no more than king James and Charles I. had done before. However, when their mouths were stopped in the pulpit, some of the most learned and zealous agreed to fight the Catholics with their own weapons, and to publish small pamphlets for the benefit of the vulgar, in defence of the Protestant doctrines. When a Popish pamphlet was in the press, they made interest with the workmen, and got the sheets as they were wrought off, so that an answer was ready as soon as the pamphlet was published. There was hardly a week in which some sermon or small treatise against Popery was not printed and dispersed among the common people; which, in the compass of a year or two, produced a valuable set of controversial writings against the errors of that church.* The chief writers were, Dr. Tillotson, Stillingfleet, Tenison, Patrick, Wake, Whitby, Sharp, Atterbury, Williams, Aldrich, Burnet, Fowler, &c.† men of great name and renown, who gained immortal honour, and were afterward advanced to the highest dignities in the church. Never was a bad cause more weakly managed by the Papists, nor a more complete victory obtained by the Protestants.

But the church-party, not content with their triumph, have of late censured the Nonconformists, for appearing only as spectators, and not joining them in the combat.‡ But how could the clergy expect this from a set of men whom they had been persecuting for above twenty years, and who had the yoke of oppression still lying on their necks? Had not the Nonconformists been beforehand with them in their morning exercises against Popery? And did not Dr. Owen, Mr. Pool, Baxter, Clarkson, and others, write against the errors of the church of Rome, throughout the whole reign of king Charles II.? Had not the Nonconformists stood in the gap, and exposed themselves sufficient-

* A vast collection of these pieces was published about fifty years ago, in three volumes folio, under the direction of Dr. Gibson bishop of London. But this contained only a part of the tracts written by the Protestants: and even the catalogues of them drawn up by Dr. Wake, Dr. Gee, and Mr. Francis Peck, were defective in the titles of them. Birch's Life of Archbishop Tillotson, p. 127.—Ed.

† Burnet, vol. 3. p. 79, 80. Edin. edit.

‡ Calamy, p. 373; and Peirce's Vindication, p. 266.

ly to the resentments of the Papists, for refusing to come into their measures for a universal toleration, in which they might have been included? Besides, the poor ministers were hardly crept out of corners, their papers had been rifled, and their books sold or secreted, to avoid seizure; they had little time to study, and therefore might not be so well prepared for the argument, as those who had lived in ease and security. Farther, the church-party was most nearly concerned, the Nonconformists having nothing to lose, whereas all the emoluments of the church were at stake; and after all, some of the dissenters did write; and, if we may believe Dr. Calamy, Mr. Baxter, and others, their tracts being thought too warm, were refused to be licensed.* Upon the whole, bishop Burnet wisely observes,† that as the dissenters would not engage on the side of Popery and the prerogative, nor appear for taking off the tests in the present circumstances; so, on the other hand, they were unwilling to provoke the king, who had lately given them hopes of liberty, lest he should make up matters upon any terms with the church-party, at their expense; nor would they provoke the church-party, or by any ill behaviour drive them into a reconciliation with the court; therefore they resolved to let the points of controversy alone, and leave

* A licence was refused to a discourse against the whole system of Popery, drawn up by the learned Mr. Jonathan Hanmer, who was ejected from Bishops-Tawton in Devon. A discourse against transubstantiation, written by Mr. Henry Pendlebury, ejected from Holcomb chapel in Lancashire, and afterward published by archbishop Tillotson, met with the like refusal. An offer that Mr. Baxter would produce a piece against Popery every month, if a licence might be had, was rejected with scorn. And Mr. Jane, the bishop of London's chaplain, denied his sanction to a piece he actually drew up on the church's visibility. But in opposition to what Mr. Neal says above concerning this point, Dr. Grey, it is but justice to observe, gives us letters from Dr. Isham, Dr. Alston, Dr. Batteley, and Mr. Needham, licensers of the press, declaring that they never refused to license a book, because written by a dissenter; and that they did not recollect that any tract, of which a dissenter was the author, was brought to them for their sanction. As to Mr. Baxter, in particular Dr. Isham avers, that he never obstructed his writing against Popery, but licensed one of his books: "and if he had prepared any thing against the common enemy (says Dr. Isham), without striking obliquely at our church, I would certainly have forwarded them from the press." It is to be added, that one piece from the pen of Mr. Hanmer had the *imprimatur* of Dr. Jane. There authorities appear to contradict each other: but it is, probably, not only a candid, but just method of reconciling them, and preserving our opinion of the veracity of both parties, that the tracts to which a licence was refused, were not offered to the gentlemen whose letters Dr. Grey quotes; but to Dr. Jane, or other licensers, with whose declarations we are not furnished. Bennet's Memorial, p. 399, 400, second edition. Baxter's History of his own Life, part 3. p. 183, folio. Palmer's Nonconformists' Memorial, vol. 1. p. 342. Dr. Grey, vol. 2. p. 424—432. The matter was, I understand, discussed by Mr. Tong, in his defence of Mr. Henry's Notion of Schism.—Ed.

† P. 121, 122.

them to the management of the clergy, who had a legal bottom to support them.

The clergy's writing thus warmly against Popery broke all measures between the king and the church of England, and made each party court that body of men for their auxiliaries, whom they had been persecuting and destroying for so many years. His majesty now resolved to introduce a universal toleration in despite of the church, and at their expense.* The cruelty of the church of England was his common subject of discourse; he reproached them for their violent persecutions of the dissenters, and said he had intended to set on foot a toleration sooner, but that he was restrained by some of them who had treated with him, and had undertaken to shew favour to the Papists, provided they might be still suffered to vex the dissenters; and he named the very men, though they thought fit afterward to deny it: how far the fact is probable must be left with the reader.

It being thought impracticable to obtain a legal toleration in the present circumstances of the nation, his majesty determined to attempt it by the dispensing power; for this purpose sir Edward Hales, a Popish gentleman of Kent, was brought to trial for breaking through the test-act, when sir Edward Herbert, lord-chief-justice, gave judgment in his favour, and declared the powers of the crown to be absolute.† The other judges were closeted, and such displaced as were of a different sentiment; and the king being resolved to have twelve judges of his own opinion,‡ four had their quietus, and as many new ones were advanced, from whom the king exacted a promise to support the prerogative in all its branches. There was a new call of serjeants, who gave rings with this motto, DEUS, REX, LEX, God, the king, and the law; the king being placed before the law. The privy-council was new modelled, and several declared Papists admitted into it; two confiding clergymen were promoted to bishopricks. Parker to Oxford, and Cart-

* Burnet, p. 140. † Ibid. p. 73, 74.

‡ Lord-chief-justice Jones, one of the displaced judges, upon his dismission, observed to the king, "that he was by no means sorry that he was laid aside, old and worn out as he was in his service; but concerned that his majesty should expect such a construction of the law from him as he could not honestly give; and that none but indigent, ignorant, or ambitious men would give their judgment as he expected." To this the king replied, "It was necessary his judges should be all of one mind." Memoirs of Sir John Reresby, p. 233.—ED.

wright to Chester. Many pamphlets were written and dispersed in favour of liberty of conscience; and sir Roger L'Estrange, with other mercenary writers, were employed to maintain, that a power in the king to dispense with the laws, is law.* But the opinion of private writers not being thought sufficient, it was resolved to have the determination of the judges, who all, except one, gave it as their opinion; *1.* That the laws of England were the *king*'s laws. *2.* That it is an inseparable branch of the prerogative of the kings of England, as of all other sovereign princes, to dispense with all penal laws in particular cases, and on particular occasions. *3.* That of these reasons and necessity the king is sole judge. *4.* That this is not a trust now invested in, and granted to, the present king, but the ancient remains of the sovereign power of the kings of England, which was never yet taken from them, nor can be. Thus the laws of England were given up at once into the hands of the king, by a solemn determination of the judges.

This point being secured, his majesty began to caress the Nonconformists. "All on a sudden (says bishop Burnet†) the churchmen were disgraced, and the dissenters in high favour. Lord-chief-justice Herbert went the western circuit after Jefferies, who was now made lord-chancellor, and all was grace and favour to them: their former sufferings were much reflected upon and pitied; every thing was offered that might alleviate them; their ministers were encouraged to set up their conventicles, which had been discontinued, or held very secretly, for four or five years; intimations were given every where, that the king would not have them or their meetings disturbed."‡ A dispensation or licence-office was set up, where all who applied might have an indulgence, paying only 50*s.* for themselves and their families. Many who had been prosecuted for conventicles, took out those licences, which not only stopped all processes that were commenced, but gave them liberty to go publicly to meetings for the future. "Upon this (says the same reverend prelate) some of the dissenters grew in-

* Welwood's Memoirs, p. 194. † Page 78.

‡ King James, previously to his adopting these conciliating measures with the dissenters, such was his art and duplicity, had tried all the methods he could think of to bring the church into his designs: and twice offered, it was said, to make a sacrifice of all the dissenters in the kingdom to them, if they would but have complied with him: but failing in this attempt, he faced about to the Nonconformists. Calamy's History of his own Life, vol. 1. p. 170, MS.—Ed.

solent, but wiser men among them perceived the design of the Papists was now, to set on the dissenters against the church; and therefore, though they returned to their conventicles, yet they had a just jealousy of the ill designs that lay hid, under all this sudden and unexpected show of grace and kindness, and they took care not to provoke the church-party." But where then were the understandings of the high-church clergy, during the whole reign of king Charles II. while they were pursuing the Nonconformists and their families to destruction, for a long course of years? Did they not perceive the design of the Papists? Or were they not willing rather to court them, at the expense of the whole body of dissenting Protestants? Bishop Laud's scheme of uniting with the Papists, and meeting them half way, was never out of their sight; however, when the reader calls to mind the oppression and cruelties that the conscientious Nonconformists underwent from the high-church party for twenty-five years, he will be ready to conclude they deserved no regard, if the Protestant religion itself had not been at stake.

Thus the all-wise providence of God put a period to the prosecution of the Protestant dissenters from the penal laws; though the laws themselves were not legally repealed, or suspended, till after the revolution of king William and queen Mary. It may not therefore be improper to give the reader a summary view of their usage in this and the last reign, and of the damages they sustained in their persons, families, and fortunes.

The Quakers, in their petition to king James* the last year, inform his majesty, that of late above one thousand five hundred of their friends were in prison, both men and women; and that now there remain one thousand three hundred and eighty-three, of which two hundred are women; many under sentence of premunire; and more than three hundred near it, for refusing the oath of allegiance because they could not swear.†—Above three hundred and fifty have died in prison since the year 1660, near one hundred of which since the year 1680.—In London, the jail of Newgate has

* It was addressed not to king James only, but to both houses of parliament. They made also an application to the king alone; recommending to his princely clemency the case of their suffering friends. Sewel, p. 592. This was not so copious a state of their case as the petition to which Mr. Neal refers, and is called by Gough their first address. Vol. 3. p. 162; and the Index under the word Address.—Ed.

† Sewel, p. 588. 593.

been crowded within these two years, sometimes with near twenty in a room, whereby several have been suffocated, and others, who have been taken out sick, have died of malignant fevers within a few days;—great violences, outrageous distresses, and woful havock and spoil, have been made on people's goods and estates, by a company of idle, extravagant, and merciless, informers, by prosecutions on the conventicle-act, and others, as may be seen in the margin.* Also on *qui tam* writs, and on other processes, for 20*l.* a month; and two thirds of their estates seized for the king:—some had not a bed left to rest upon; others had no cattle to till the ground, nor corn for seed or bread, nor tools to work with: the said informers and bailiffs in some places breaking into houses, and making great waste and spoil, under pretence of serving the king and the church.—Our religious assemblies have been charged at common law with being riotous routs, and disturbances of the peace, whereby great numbers have been confined in prisons, without regard to age or sex; and many in holes and dungeons:—the seizures for 20*l.* a month have amounted to several thousand pounds; sometimes they have seized for eleven months at once, and made sale of all goods and chattels both within doors and without, for payment:—several who have employed some hundreds of poor families in manufacture, are by those writs and seizures disabled, as well as by long imprisonment; one in particular, who employed two hundred people in the woollen manufacture.—Many informers, and especially impudent women, whose husbands are in prison, swear for their share of the profit of the seizures—the fines upon one justice's warrant have amounted to many hundred pounds; frequently 10*l.* a warrant, and five warrants together for 50*l.* to one man; and for nonpayment, all his goods carried away in about ten cart-loads. They spare neither

* The acts or penal laws on which they suffered were these:
Some few suffered on 27 Henry VIII. cap. 20.
Others on 1 Eliz. cap. 2, for twelve-pence a Sunday.
5 Eliz. cap 23, *de excommu. capiendo.*
23 Eliz. cap. 1, for 20*l.* a month.
29 Eliz. cap. 6, for more speedy and due execution of last statute.
35 Eliz. cap. 1, for abjuring the realm on pain of death.
3 King James I. cap. 4, for better discovering and suppressing Popish recusants.
13th and 14th of king Charles II. against Quakers, &c. transportation.
17 Charles II. cap. 2, against Nonconformists.
22 King Charles II. cap. 1, against seditious conventicles.
N. B. The Quakers were not much affected with the corporation and test acts, because they would not take an oath;
Nor with the Oxford five-mile act, which cut the others to pieces.

widows, nor fatherless, nor poor families; nor leave them so much as a bed to lie upon:—thus the informers are both witnesses and parties, to the ruin of great numbers of sober families; and justices of peace have been threatened with the forfeiture of 100*l*, if they do not issue out warrants upon their informations.—With this petition, they presented to the king and parliament a list of their friends in prison in the several counties, amounting to one thousand four hundred and sixty.

But it is impossible to make an exact computation of the number of sufferers, or estimate of the damages his majesty's dissenting subjects of the several denomination sustained, by the prosecutions of this and the last reign; how many families were impoverished, and reduced to beggary; how many lives were lost in prisons and noisome jails; how many ministers were divorced from their people, and forced to live as they could, five miles from a corporation: how many industrious and laborious tradesmen were cut off from their trades; and their substance and household goods plundered by soldiers, or divided among idle and infamous informers. The vexatious suits of the commons, and the expenses of those courts, were immense.

The writer of the preface of Mr. Delaune's Plea for the Nonconformists, says,* that Delaune was one of near eight thousand Protestant dissenters, who had perished in prison in the reign of king Charles II. and that merely for dissenting from the church in some points which they were able to give good reason for; and yet for no other cause, says he, were they stifled, I had almost said, murdered in jails.—As for the severe penalties inflicted on them, for seditious and riotous assemblies, designed only for the worship of God, he adds, that they suffered in their trades and estates, within the compass of three years, at least 2,000,000*l*.; and doubts, whether in all the times since the Reformation, including the reign of queen Mary, there can be produced any thing like such a number of Christians who have suffered death; and such numbers who have lost their substance for religion. Another writer adds,† that Mr. Jeremy White had carefully collected a list of the dissenting sufferers, and of their sufferings; and had the names of sixty thousand persons who had suffered on a religious account, between the resto-

* Preface to Delaune's Plea, p. 5. † History of the Stuarts, p. 715.

ration of king Charles II. and the revolution of king William; five thousand of whom died in prison. That Mr. White told lord Dorset, that king James had offered him a thousand guineas for the manuscript, but that he refused all invitations and rewards, and concealed the black record, that it might not appear to the disreputation of the church of England, for which some of the clergy sent him their thanks, and offered him an acknowledgment, which he generously refused. The reader will form his own judgment of the truth of these facts. It is certain, that besides those who suffered in their own country, great numbers retired to the plantations of New-England, Pennsylvania, and other parts of America. Many transported themselves and their effects into Holland,* and filled the English churches of Amsterdam, the Hague, Utrecht, Leyden, Rotterdam, and other parts. If we admit the dissenting families of the several denominations in England, to be one hundred and fifty thousand, and that each family suffered no more than the loss of 3 or 4*l.* per annum, from the act of uniformity, the whole will amount to twelve or fourteen millions; a prodigious sum for those times! But these are only conjectures; the damage to the trade and property of the nation was undoubtedly immense; and the wounds that were made in the estates of private families were deep and large; many of whom, to my certain knowledge, wear the scars of them to this day.

When the Protestant dissenters rose up into public view as a distinct body, their long sufferings had not very much diminished their numbers; which, though not to be compared with those of the establishment, or the tories and Roman Catholics, were yet so considerable, as to be capable of turning the scale on either side, according as they should throw in their weight, which might possibly be owing, amongst others, to the following reasons:

1. To their firmness and constancy in a long course of

* Among these were, Mr. Howe, Mr. Shower, Mr. Nat. Taylor, Mr. Papillon, sir John Thompson (afterward lord Haversham), sir John Guise, and sir Patience Ward. The states of Holland treated the English refugees with particular respect. But as it has been pertinently observed, it was a reproach to this nation, that, in particular, so excellent a person as Mr. Howe, whose unaffected piety, polite and profound learning, and most sweet, ingenuous, and genteel temper, entitled him to the esteem of the greatest and best men in the land of all persuasions; that such a one at that time could not have a safe and quiet habitation in his native country. Tong's Life of Shower, p. 51.—Ed.

suffering, which convinced the world, that they were not actuated by humour, but conscience.

2. To their doctrine and manner of preaching, which was plain and practical, accompanied with a warm and awakening address to the conscience. Their doctrines were those of the first reformers, which were grown out of fashion in the church; and their way of worship was simple and plain; without the ornament of rites and ceremonies.

3. To the severity of their morals, at a time when the nation was sunk into all kinds of vice and luxury, from which they preserved themselves in a great measure untainted. Their conversation was sober and virtuous. They observed the Lord's day with religious strictness, and had a universal reputation for justice and integrity in their dealings.

4. To the careful and strict education of their children, whom they impressed with an early sense of scriptural religion, and educated in their own way, as they had opportunity, under private schoolmasters of their own principles.

5. To a concern for a succession of able and learned ministers; for which purpose they encouraged private academies in several parts of the kingdom; and it is remarkable that many gentlemen and substantial citizens devoted their children to the ministry, at a time when they had nothing in view but worldly discouragements.

6. To the persecuting zeal of the high-church party, attended with an uncommon licentiousness of manners. If their zeal against the Nonconformists had produced a greater sanctity of life, and severity of morals, amongst themselves, it had been less offensive; but to see men destitute of common virtue signing warrants of distress upon their neighbours, only for worshipping God peaceably at a separate meeting, when they themselves hardly worshipped God at all; made some apprehend there was nothing at all in religion, and others resolve to take their lot with a more sober people.

Finally, To the spirit and principles of toryism, which began to appear ruinous to the nation. The old English constitution was in a manner lost, while the church and prerogative had been trampling on the dissenters, who had stood firm to it for twenty years, in the midst of reproaches and sufferings. This was the consequence of tory measures;

and Popery being now coming in at the gap they had made, the most resolved Protestants saw their error, entertained a favourable opinion of the dissenters, and many of them joined their congregations.

To return to the history. The dissenters being now easy, it was resolved to return the artillery of the prerogative against the church, and make them feel a little of the smart they had given others; the king and his priests were thoroughly enraged with their opposition to the court, and therefore appointed commissioners throughout England to inquire, what money had been raised; or what goods had been seized by distress on dissenters, on prosecutions for recusancy, and not brought to account in the exchequer. In the Gazette of March 5, 1687, it is advertised, that the commissioners appointed to examine into the losses of the dissenters and recusants, within the several counties of Gloucester, Worcester, and Monmouth, were to hold their sessions for the said counties at the places therein mentioned. Others were appointed for the counties of Middlesex, Essex, &c. to inquire what money or goods had been taken or received for any matters relating to religion since September 29, 1677, in any of the counties for which they were named. They were to return the names of all persons who had seized goods, or received money. The parties themselves, if alive, were obliged to appear, and give an account; and if dead, their representatives were to appear before the commissioners for them. This struck terror into the whole tribe of informers, the confiding justices, and others, who expected now to be ruined; but, says Dr. Calamy, the Protestant dissenters generously refused to appear against their enemies, upon assurances given by leading persons, both clergy and laity, that no such methods should be used for the future. Had this inquiry proceeded, and the dissenters universally come into it, a black and fraudulent scene would have been opened, which now will be concealed. Bishop Burnet says, "The king ordered them to inquire into all vexatious suits into which the dissenters had been brought in the spiritual courts, and into all the compositions they had been forced to make to redeem themselves from farther trouble, which, as was said, would have brought to light a scandalous discovery of all the ill practices of those courts; for the use that many who belong to those courts had made

of the laws with relation to dissenters, was, to draw presents from such as could make them, threatening them with a process in case they failed to do that, and upon doing it, leaving them at full liberty to neglect the laws as much as they pleased. The commission subsisted till the Revolution, and it was hoped (says his lordship) that this would have animated the dissenters to turn upon the clergy with some of that fierceness with which they themselves had been lately treated."* But they took no advantage of the disposition of the court, nor of the opportunity that was put into their hands of making reprisals on their adversaries; which shews the truly generous and Christian spirit of those confessors for religion; and deserved a more grateful acknowledgment.

To humble the clergy yet farther, his majesty, by the advice of Jefferies, erected a new ecclesiastical commission, though the act which took away the high-commission in 1641 had provided, that no court of that nature should be erected for the future; but the king, though a Papist, assumed the supremacy, and directed a commission to the archbishop of Canterbury, Jefferies the chancellor, the bishops of Durham and Rochester; to the earl of Sunderland-president of the council; Herbert and Wright, lord-chief-justices, and Jenner recorder of London, or any three of them, provided the chancellor was one, "to exercise all manner of jurisdiction and pre-eminence, touching any spiritual or ecclesiastical jurisdictions, to visit, reform, redress, and amend, all abuses, offences, contempts, and enormities, which by the spiritual or ecclesiastical laws might be corrected. They were also to inquire into all misdemeanours and contempts which might be punished by the censures of the church, and to call before them all ecclesiastical persons of what degree and dignity soever, and punish the offenders by excommunications, suspensions, deprivations, or other ecclesiastical censures, &c."† This was a terrible rod held out to the clergy, and if the commissioners had had time to proceed in their inquiries, according to the mandates sent to the chancellors and archdeacons of the several diocesses, they would have felt more of the effects of that arbitrary power which their indiscreet conduct had brought on the nation; but Providence was kinder to them than they had

* Burnet, vol. 3. p. 140, 141, Edinb. edit. † Burnet, p. 82.

been to their brethren.* The commission was granted the beginning of April, but was not opened till the beginning of August: the archbishop of Canterbury was afraid to act in it;† Durham was so lifted up, says Burnet, that he said his name would now be recorded in history; and Sprat bishop of Rochester, in hopes of farther preferment, swam with the stream.‡ Some Roman Catholics were in the commission, and consequently the enemies of the Protestant religion were to be its judges.

But his majesty, not being willing to rely altogether on the Oxford decree, nor on the fashionable doctrines of passive obedience and nonresistance, which had been preached up for above twenty years as the unalterable doctrines of the church of England, in order to support his extraordinary proceedings, resolved to augment his standing forces to fifteen thousand men. He was apprehensive of a snake in the grass, or a secret reserve, that might break out when the church itself came to be pinched; he therefore ordered his army to encamp on Hounslow-heath, under the command of the earl of Feversham, to awe the city, and be at hand upon any emergency; the officers and many of the soldiers were Irish Papists, and they had a public chapel in which mass was said every day, so that it was believed the king might introduce what religion he pleased.§ It was dangerous to speak or write against his majesty's proceedings; for when the reverend Mr. Johnson, a clergyman,

* Welwood, p. 198.

† It is said, that he took exception at the lawfulness of the commission itself. But then on its being opened, he did not appear and declare against it, as judging it to be against law: contenting himself with not going to it: and it was not at first apprehended that he made a matter of conscience of it. He was of a timorous nature, and cautious of doing any thing that might eventually be prejudicial to his great object, which was to enrich his nephew. Burnet, vol. 3. p. 82, 83. Grey's Examination, vol. 3. p. 405.—Ed.

‡ Though the bishop of Rochester might, from views to preferment, be induced to act in a commission to which he was, without his knowledge, named; yet he is stated to have acted with integrity in this matter, through his ignorance of the laws, having no objection to the legality of it; with the purpose of doing as much good, and preventing as much evil, as the times would permit. In the execution of it he pleaded, that he had studied to moderate and restrain the violence of others, never giving his consent to any irregular and arbitrary sentence, but declaring against every extravagant decree. His opinions, he said, were always so contrary to the humours of the court, that he often thought himself to be really in as much hazard from the commission itself, by his noncompliance, as any of his brethren could be that were out of it. And at last, rather than concur in the prosecution of such as refused to read the king's declaration, he solemnly took his leave and withdrew from the court. Grey's examination, vol. 3. p. 405, 406.—Ed.

§ Gazette, No. 2192.

ventured to publish a writing, directed to the Protestant officers of the army, to dissuade them from being tools of the court to subvert the constitution and Protestant religion; diligent search was made for him, and being apprehended, he was sentenced to stand three times in the pillory, to be degraded of his orders, to be whipped from Newgate to Tyburn, and to be fined five hundred marks; all which was executed with great severity.*

Affairs in Scotland were in equal forwardness with those of England; the parliament which met at Edinburgh in May 1685, while the persecution continued, declared their abhorrence of all principles derogatary to the king's absolute power, and offered their lives and fortunes to defend it against all opposers. They passed an act, making it death to resort to any conventicles in houses or fields; and declared it high-treason to give or take the national covenant, or to write in defence of it. They also obliged the subjects of Scotland to take an oath, when required, to maintain the king's absolute power, on pain of banishment. Popery made very considerable advances in that kingdom, and several persons of character changed their religion with the times.† But the populace were in the other extreme; the earl of Perth having set up a private chapel for mass, the mob broke into it with such fury that they defaced and destroyed the whole furniture, for which one of them was apprehended and hanged. When the English court changed measures, the Scots parliament agreed to a suspension of the penal laws during the king's life; but his majesty insisting upon an entire repeal, which they declined, he dis-

* Mr. Johnson, previously to his sufferings, was degraded in the chapter-house of St. Paul's on the 22d of November, 1686. He bore the whipping on the 1st of December following with great fortitude. The Revolution restored him to his liberty; the degradation was annulled; the judgment given against him was declared illegal and cruel; and a pension of 300*l.* a year for his own and son's life was granted to him, with 1000*l.* in money, and a place of 100*l.* a year for his son. His temper, which was haughty, rough, and turbulent, rendered his solicitations for a bishoprick, and two addresses of the lords recommending him to preferment, unsuccessful. He had been chaplain to lord Russel; and was a man of considerable learning and abilities, of great firmness and fortitude of mind. In 1683—4 he had incurred a heavy sentence in the King's-bench, being fined five hundred marks, and committed to the prison till it was paid, and sureties for his good behaviour for a year were found. This penalty was incurred by the publication of a book entitled Julian the Apostate, in 1682, intended to expose the doctrines of passive obedience and nonresistance; and to shew th great difference between the case of the primitive Christians, who had the laws against them, and ours who have the laws on our side. Birch's Life of Archbishop Tillotson, p. 216, &c.—Ed.

† Burnet, vol. 3. p. 86. 90.

solved them. The episcopal clergy were obsequious to the court, and in many places so sunk into sloth and ignorance, that the lower people were quite indifferent in matters of religion; but the Presbyterians, though now freed from the severities they had smarted under so many years, expressed upon all occasions an unconquerable aversion to Popery, and by degrees roused the whole nation out of their lethargy.

In Ireland things had still a more favourable aspect for the court: the king had a greater dependance on the Irish Catholics* than upon any other of his subjects. Colonel Talbot, earl of Tyrconnel, was made lord-lieutenant of that country, a vile and profligate officer, who scrupled no kind of barbarity and wickedness to serve his cause; he broke several Protestant officers in the army, and by degrees turned them all out to make room for Papists. All offices both civil and military were put into the hands of the vilest miscreants; there was not a Protestant sheriff left in that kingdom; the charters were taken away, and new-modelled in favour of Papists. The corporations were dissolved, and all things managed with an arbitrary hand, so that many, imagining the massacring knife to be at their throats, left the kingdom; some transporting themselves into England, and others into more remote and distant countries. Thus far the prerogative prevailed without any repulse.

Matters being now ripe for attacking the church of England in form, it was resolved to begin with making an example of some of their leading divines: Dr. Sharp, rector of St. Giles's, having disobeyed the king's order, of not preaching on the controverted points, and spoken disrespectfully of the king's religion in one of his sermons, the bishop of London was ordered to suspend him; but the bishop, with all respect and duty to his majesty, sent word, that he could not proceed in such a summary way, but that when the cause was heard in the commons, he would pronounce such sentence as the canons should warrant; and in the mean time would desire the doctor to forbear preach-

* So hostile to the cause of liberty were the Irish Catholics, that not content with oppressing it in their own kingdom, they encouraged the emigration of their own body with a view to check its spread beyond the Atlantic. For they suggested to king James to grant, in lieu of lands, money to such of their countrymen as were willing to transport themselves into New-England to advance the Catholic faith there, and check the growing Independents of that country. Life of Dr. Increase Mather, p. 43. —Ed.

ing.* The court resenting the bishop's denial, cited him† before the ecclesiastical commission August 4, where he was treated by Jefferies in a manner unbecoming his character. The bishop excepted to the authority of the court, as contrary to law, and added, that he had complied in the doctor's case as far as the ecclesiastical laws would permit. However, notwithstanding all that his lordship could say in his defence, he was suspended *ab officio*,‡ and the bishops of Durham, Rochester, and Peterborough, were appointed commissioners to exercise jurisdiction during his suspension. But Dr. Sharpe, after having expressed his sorrow in a petition for falling under the king's displeasure, was dismissed with a gentle reprimand, and suffered to return to the exercise of his function.

The king's next attempt was upon the universities; he began with Cambridge, and commanded Dr. Peachel the vice-chancellor to admit one Alban Francis, a benedictine monk, to the degree of M. A. without administering to him any oath or oaths whatsoever; all which his majesty declared he would dispense with.§ The vice-chancellor having read the letter to the congregation of regents, it was agreed to petition the king to revoke his mandate; but instead of complying with their petition, the king sent for the vice-

* Burnet, p. 83—85.

† Dr. Compton, the bishop of London, had, by a conduct worthy of his birth and station in the church, acquired the love and esteem of all the Protestant churches at home and abroad: and for that reason, was the mark of the envy and hatred of the Romish party at court. He made a distinguishing figure in the following reigns. He was the youngest son of Spencer earl of Northampton, who was killed in the civil wars. After having studied three years at the university, and made the usual tour of Europe, he became a cornet in the royal regiment of guards; which gave occasion to the following bon-mot: king James, discoursing with him on some tender point, was so little pleased with his answers, that he told him, "He talked more like a colonel than a bishop." To which he replied, "That his majesty did him honour in taking notice of his having formerly drawn his sword in defence of the constitution; and that he should do the same again, if he lived to see it necessary." Accordingly he appeared in arms again a little before the Revolution, and at the head of a fine troop of gentlemen and their attendants carried off the princess Anne, and marched into Nottingham. Welwood's Memoirs, p. 175; and Granger's History of England, vol. 4. p. 283, 284.—Ed.

‡ Though bishop Compton was thus deprived of his episcopal power, he still retained his other capacities, particularly as a governor of Sutton's Hospital, and preserved the intrepidity of his spirit. For when an attempt was made by the recommendation of the king, to introduce a Papist as a pensioner, contrary to the statutes of that institution, the bishop, in conjunction with some other trustees, so firmly opposed the encroachment upon the rights of the foundation, that the court and commissioners saw fit in the end to desist from their design. Life of Bishop Compton, p. 45; where from p. 22—39, and Biographia Britannica, vol. 4, article Compton, p. 55, 56, second edition, may be seen a full account of his prosecution.—Ed.

§ Burnet, p. 114, 115.

chancellor before the ecclesiastical commission, by whom he was suspended *ab officio et beneficio*, for disobedience and contempt of the king's commands; and Dr. Balderston, master of Emanuel-college,, was chosen vice-chancellor in his room.

Soon after the king sent a *mandamus* to the vice-president of Magdalen-college, Oxford, and to the fellows, to choose Mr. Farmer, a man of ill reputation, their president, in the room of Dr. Clarke, deceased; but in defiance of the king's mandate they chose Dr. Hough; for which they were cited before the ecclesiastical commissioners, but having proved Farmer to be a man of bad character, the king relinquished him, and ordered them by another mandate to choose Dr. Parker bishop of Oxford. The fellows, having agreed to abide by their first choice, refused to elect the bishop, as contrary to their statutes. Upon which the commissioners were sent to visit them, who, after sundry inquiries and examinations, deprived Dr. Hough, and installed the bishop of Oxford by proxy; and the fellows refusing to sign a submission to their new president, twenty-five of them were deprived, and made incapable of any benefice.* Parker died soon after, and one of the Popish bishops was by *mandamus* chosen president in his place; which inflamed the church party so far, that they sent pressing messages to the prince of Orange, desiring him to espouse the cause of the church, and break with the king, if he would not redress their grievances. Thus the very first beginnings of resistance to king James came from that very university which but four years before had pronounced this doctrine damnable by a solemn decree; and from those very men who were afterward king William's most bitter enemies.†

The more desperate the war grew between the king and the church, the more necessary did both parties find it to shew kindness to the dissenters; for this purpose his majesty sent agents among them, offering them the royal favour, and all manner of encouragement, if they would con-

* It will be thought but justice to the memory of bishop Sprat, to state what he himself declared was his conduct on this and the two preceding occasions. It was this: he resolutely persisted in his dissent from every vote that passed against Magdalen-college; he opposed to the utmost the violent persecution upon the university of Cambridge: and he gave his positive vote for the bishop's acquittal both times, when his suspension came in question. Dr. Grey's Examination, p. 406, 407.—Ed.

† Burnet, p. 701.

cur with him in abrogating the penal laws and test; he invited some of their ministers to court, and pretended to consult them in the present crisis.* The clergy, at the same time, prayed and entreated the dissenters to appear on their side, and stand by the establishment, making large promises of favour and brotherly affection, if ever they came into power.

The king, notwithstanding the stubbornness of the clergy, called a council, in which he declared his resolution to issue out a declaration for a general liberty of conscience to all persons of what persuasion soever,† "which he was moved to do, by having observed, that though a uniformity of worship had been endeavoured to be established within this kingdom in the successive reigns of four of his predecessors, assisted by their respective parliaments, yet it had proved altogether ineffectual. That the restraint upon the consciences of dissenters had been very prejudicial to the nation, as was sadly experienced by the horrid rebellion in the time of his majesty's father. That the many penal laws made against dissenters had rather increased than lessened the number of them; and that nothing could more conduce to the peace and quiet of this kingdom, and the increase of the number as well as of the trade of his subjects, than an entire liberty of conscience, it having always been his opinion, as most suitable to the principles of Christianity, that no man should be persecuted for conscience' sake; for he thought conscience could not be forced, and that it could never be the true interest of a king of England to endeavour to do it."‡

* Amongst other measures, which expressed the disposition of the court towards dissenters, was the power with which some gentlemen were invested to grant out licences directed to the bishops and their officers, to the judges, justices, and all others whom it may concern. The licences were to this effect: "that the king's pleasure is, that the several persons (named in a schedule annexed) be not prosecuted or molested, 1, for not taking the oaths of allegiance and supremacy: or, 2, upon the prerogative writ for 20*l.* a month: or, 3, upon outlawries, or *excom. capiend.* for the said causes: or, 4, for not receiving the sacrament: or, 5, by reason of their conviction for recusancy or exercise of their religion, a command to stay proceedings already begun for any of the causes aforesaid." The price for any one of these licences was 10*l.* for a single person: but if several joined, the price was 16*l.* and eight persons might join in taking out one licence. There were not very many dissenters that took out these licences. Tong's Life of Mr. Matthew Henry, p. 45, 46, 12mo. —Ed.

† Gazette, No. 2226.

‡ Under all the pretences of tenderness, liberal policy, and wisdom, which gilded over the king's speech, "it was well understood (observes sir John Reresby), that

This speech meeting with no opposition in the council, his majesty on the 4th of April caused his gracious declaration for liberty of conscience to be published.* In the preamble to which his majesty does not scruple to say, "that he cannot but heartily wish (as it will easily be believed) that all his subjects were members of the Catholic church, yet it is his opinion, that conscience ought not to be forced, for the reasons mentioned in the foregoing speech," which he rehearses at large; and then adds, "By virtue of his royal prerogative, he thinks fit to issue out his declaration of indulgence, making no doubt of his concurrence of his two houses of parliament, when he shall think it convenient for them to meet. And, first, he declares, that he will protect and maintain his archbishops, bishops, and clergy, and all other his subjects of the church of England, in the free exercise of their religion as by law established, and in the quiet and full enjoyment of their possessions. Secondly, That it is his royal will and pleasure, that all penal laws for nonconformity to the religion established, or by reason of the exercise of religion in any manner whatsoever, be immediately suspended. And to the end that, by the liberty hereby granted, the peace and security of the government in the practice thereof may not be endangered, he strictly charges and commands all his subjects, that as he freely gives them leave to meet, and serve God after their own way, be it private houses, or places purposely hired and built for that use, so that they take special care that nothing be preached or taught among them which may tend to alienate the hearts of his people from him or his government; and that their meetings or assemblies be peaceably, openly, and publicly held, and all persons freely admitted to them; and that they signify and make known to some one or more of the next justices of peace, what place or places they set apart for such uses. And he is desirous to have the benefit of the service of all his subjects, which by the law of nature is inseparably annexed and inherent to his royal person. And that none of

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his view was to divide the Protestant churches, *divide et impera*; that so the Papists might with the more ease possess themselves of the highest place." Memoirs, p. 243.—Ed.

* Gazette, no. 2231.

his subjects may be for the future under any discouragements or disability, who are otherwise well inclined, and fit to serve him, by reason of some oaths or tests, that have usually been administered upon such occasions, he hereby farther declares, that it is his will and pleasure, that the oaths of supremacy and allegiance, and the several tests and declarations mentioned in the acts of parliament made in the 25th and 30th of his brother's reign, shall not hereafter be required to be taken, declared, or subscribed, by any persons whatsoever, who are or shall be employed in any office, or place of trust, either civil or military, under him or in his government. And it is his intention from time to time hereafter to grant his royal dispensation to all his subjects, so to be employed, who shall not take the said oaths, or subscribe or declare the said tests or declarations. And he does hereby give his free and ample pardon to all Nonconformist recusants, and other his subjects, for all crimes and things by them committed, or done contrary to the penal laws formerly made relating to religion, and the profession or exercise thereof. And although the freedom and assurance he has hereby given in relation to liberty and property, might be sufficient to remove from the minds of his subjects all fears and jealousies in relation to either, yet he thinks fit to declare, that he will maintain them in all their properties and possessions, as well of church and abbey lands, as in other their estates and properties whatsoever."*

A declaration of the same nature was sent to Scotland, in which the king, "by virtue of his prerogative royal, absolute authority and power over all his subjects, who are bound to obey him without reserve, repeals all the severe

* The operation of this declaration extended beyond England or Scotland; for it proved beneficial to the people of New-England, whose religious liberties as well as their civil rights were near expiring: and who had been told by some in power, "They must not think to have the privileges of Englishmen follow them to the ends of the earth: and they had no more privileges left them than to be bought and sold as slaves." Upon the liberty which the declaration afforded them, Dr. Increase Mather was deputed to take a voyage to England, with addresses of thanks to the king, from various towns and churches; though the measure was opposed by the rulers of the province. When he presented them, he was graciously received, and was admitted to different and repeated audiences with the king, who, on receiving the addresses, said, "You shall have magna charta for liberty of conscience:" and on its being intimated to him by two of his courtiers, at one of the audiences, that the favour shewn to New-England would have a good influence on the body of dissenters in England, his reply was, "He believed so, and it should be done." Life of Dr. Increase Mather, p. 37, &c.—Ed.

laws made by his grandfather king James I. and takes off all disabilities from his Roman-Catholic subjects, which rendered them incapable of employments and benefices. He also slackened the laws against moderate Presbyterians, and promised never to force his subjects by any invincible necessity to change their religion. He also repealed all laws imposing tests on those who held any employments."*

This was strange conduct, says bishop Burnet, in a Roman-Catholic monarch, at a time when his brother of France had just broke the edict of Nantz, and was dragooning his Protestant subjects out of his kingdom. But the bishop suspects the king's sincerity in his declaration, from his promising to use no invincible necessity to force his subjects to change their religion, as if there was a reserve, and that some degrees of compulsion might be proper one time or other; which seems to have been a parallel case to the doctrine of the church concerning nonresistance. However, by another proclamation, the king granted full liberty to the Scots Presbyterians to set up conventicles in their own way, which they thankfully accepted; but when his majesty pressed them to dispose their friends to concur with him in taking off the test and penal laws, which they knew was only to serve the Papists, they answered only in cold and general terms.

In pursuance of these declarations, the dissenters of all sorts were not only set at liberty, but admitted to serve in all offices of profit and trust. November 6, the king sent an order to the lord-mayor of London to dispense with the Quakers taking oaths,† or at least, not to fine them if they refused to serve, by which means a door was opened to the Roman Catholics, and to all others, to bear offices in the state without a legal qualification. Several addresses were presented to the king upon this occasion from the companies in the city of London, from the corporations in the country, and even from the clergy themselves, thanking his majesty for his declaration for liberty of conscience, and his promise

* Echard, p. 1083.—Burnet, p. 136.

† Sewel informs us, that the king carried his condescension to the Quakers so far, that a countryman of that persuasion coming to him with his hat on his head, the king took off his own hat and held it under his arm: which the other seeing, said, "The king needs not keep off his hat for me." To which his majesty replied, "You do not know the custom here, for that requires that but one hat must be on here." Sewel's History, p. 609.—Ed.

to support the church of England as by law established, assuring him of their endeavours to choose such members for the next parliament as should give it a more legal sanction.

The several denominations of dissenters also were no less thankful for their liberty, and addressed his majesty in higher strains than some of their elder and more cautious ministers approved; Mr. Baxter, Mr. Stretton, and a great many others, refused to join in them; and bishop Burnet admits,* that few concurred in those addresses,† and that the persons who presented them were mean and inconsiderable. When there was a general meeting of the ministers to consider of their behaviour in this crisis, and two messengers from court waited to carry back the result of the debate, Mr. Howe delivered his opinion against the dispensing power, and against every thing that might contribute assistance to the Papists to enable them to subvert the Protestant religion.‡ Another minister stood up, and declared,§ that he apprehended their late sufferings had been occasioned more by their firm adherence to the constitution, than their differing from the establishment; and therefore if the king expected they should give up the constitution and declare for the dispensing power, he had rather, for his part, lose his liberty, and return to his former bondage.‖ In conclusion Mr. Howe, in summing up the whole debate, signified to the courtiers, that they were in general of the same opinion. Mr. Coke adds, that to his knowledge the dissenters did

* Page 140.

† Dr. Grey controverts the above assertions of bishop Burnet: he has given at length eight addresses from different bodies of dissenters, in different parts of the kingdom, as specimens of the courtly, not to say fulsome and flattering strains, which they on this occasion adopted: and he refers to the Gazettes of the times, as furnishing about seventy other compositions of the same kind; in which this oppressed body, emancipated from their sufferings, fears, and dangers, poured forth the sentiments of loyalty and gratitude. Mr. Stretton, mentioned above, who had been ejected from Petworth in Sussex, and afterward gathered a congregation in London, which assembled at Haberdashers'-hall, was a minister of great reputation and influence; an active and a useful character. He made use of the liberty granted by the king's proclamation, but never did nor would join in any address of thanks for it, lest he should seem to give countenance to the king's assuming a power above the law; and he was instrumental to prevent several addresses. Henry's Funeral Sermon for Stretton, p. 45. Grey's Examination, vol. 3. p. 410—416.—Ed.

‡ Gazette, no. 2234.

§ This gentleman was Dr. Daniel Williams, who pursued the argument with such clearness and strength, that all present rejected the motion, and the court-agents went away disappointed. There was a meeting at the same time of a considerable number of the city clergy, waiting the issue of their deliberations: who were greatly animated and encouraged by the bold and patriotic resolution of the dissenting ministers. Life of Dr. Williams, prefixed to his Practical Discourses, vol. 1. p. 10.—Ed.

‖ Howe's Life, p. 134.

both dread and detest the dispensing power; and their steadiness in this crisis was a noble stand by a number of men who subsisted only by the royal favour, which ought not to have been so soon forgotten.

Though the court were a little disappointed in their expectations from the dissenters, they put the best face they could on the affair, and received such addresses as were presented with high commendation. The first who went up were the London Anabaptists, who say, that "the sense of this invaluable favour and benefit derived to us from your royal clemency, compels us to prostrate ourselves at your majesty's feet with the tender of our most humble thanks for that peace and liberty which both we, and all other dissenters from the national church, now enjoy."*

Next came the Presbyterians,† "who acknowledge his majesty's princely compassion in rescuing them from their long sufferings, in restoring to God the empire over conscience, and publishing to the world his royal Christian judgment, that conscience may not be forced; and his resolution that such force should not be attempted in his reign, which they pray may be long." Then followed the Independents; "Sir, the great calamity we have been a long time under, through the severe execution of the penal laws in matters of religion, has made us deeply sensible of your majesty's princely clemency towards us your dissenting subjects, especially since in the indulgence vouchsafed there are no limitations hindering the enjoyment of it with a good con-

* Gazette, no. 2234.

† This address had about thirty hands to it; it was presented by Mr. Hurst, Mr. Chester, Mr. Slatter, Mr. Cox, Mr. Roswell, Mr. Turner, Mr. Franklin, Mr. Deal, and Mr. Reynolds. It is preserved at length, with the king's answer, in the Biographia Britannica, vol. 1, article Alsop. It was supposed to have been drawn up by Mr. Alsop; whose feelings and gratitude, on the free pardon which the king had given to his son convicted of treasonable practices, may be reckoned to have had great influence in dictating and promoting it. After the spirited resolution mentioned above had been carried, some of the ministers were privately closeted with king James, and some few received particular and personal favours: by these fascinating arts they were brought over. And their conduct had its weight in producing similar addresses from the country. Part of the king's answer deserves to be recorded as a monument of his insincerity, and a warning, that kings can degrade themselves by recourse to duplicity and falsehood. "Gentlemen (said James), I protest before God, and I desire you to tell all manner of people, of all persuasions,—that I have no other design than I have spoken of. And, gentlemen, I hope to live to see the day, when you shall as well have magna charta for the liberty of conscience, as you have had for your properties." The ministers went away satisfied with the welcome which they had received from the pleasant countenances of the courtiers, and the courteous words, looks, and behaviour, of his majesty." Palmer's Nonconformists' Memorial, vol. 2. p. 13.—Ed.

science, and that your majesty publisheth to the world that it has been your constant sense and opinion, that conscience ought not to be constrained, nor people forced in matters of mere religion."* About the same time was published the humble and thankful address of the London Quakers,† to this purpose, "May it please the king! Though we are not the first in this way, yet we hope we are not the least sensible of the great favours we are come to present the king our humble, open, and hearty thanks for. We rejoice to see the day that a king of England should, from his royal seat, so universally assert this royal principle, that conscience ought not to be restrained, nor people forced for matters of religion."‡ The several addresses above mentioned express their humble dependance on his majesty's royal promise to secure their rights and properties, and that he will endeavour to engage his two houses of parliament to concur with him in this good work. Here are no flights of expression, nor promises of obedience without reserve, but purely a sense of gratitude for the restoration of liberty.§

And though it must be allowed that some few dissenters, from an excess of joy, or it may be from a strong resentment against their late persecutors, published some severe pamphlets, and gave too much countenance to the measures of the court, as Mr. Lobb, Alsop, and Penn the Quaker,

* Gazette, no. 2238. † Sewel, p. 606.

‡ There are, it has been justly observed to the editor, some errors in the above extract: viz. the word royal instead of glorious, before principle; and the omission of mere before religion.—Ed.

§ Though Mr. Neal's character of the addresses which he quotes, be admitted as just, it will not apply to all which the dissenters presented on this occasion: "Some of them (Dr. Calamy observes) ran high." But for the strong language in which they were expressed, or for the numbers to which they amounted, an apology may be drawn from the excess of joy with which the royal indulgence, though an insidious measure, naturally inspired those who, for many years, had groaned under the rod of persecution. It should also be considered, that but very few, comparatively, think deeply or look far. Present, pleasing appearances mislead and captivate the generality. There is also a propensity in mankind to follow those who take the lead, and a readiness to credit and flatter royalty and greatness. The dissenters, however, not without reason, incurred censure for "a vast crowd of congratulatory addresses, complimenting the king in the highest manner, and protesting what mighty returns of loyalty they would make:" and were called "the pope's journeymen to carry on his work." But these censures came with an ill grace, as Dr. Calamy remarks, "from the church-party, who had set them the pattern;" who in a most luxuriant manner had thanked king Charles for dissolving one of the best parliaments; who were mighty forward in the surrender of charters; and who, in their fulsome addresses, made no other claim to their liberties and civil rights than as concessions from the crown, telling the king, "every one of his commands was stamped with God's authority." The university of Oxford, in particular, promsied king James to obey him without limitations or restrictions. Dr. Grey and Calamy's Life of Howe, p. 137, 138.—Ed.

yet the body of them kept at a distance, and, "as thankful as they were for their liberty (says lord Halifax), they were fearful of the issue; neither can any number of consideration among them be charged with hazarding the public safety, by falling in with the measures of the court, of which they had as great a dread as their neighbours."* And the lords, in a conference with the house of commons upon the occasional bill, in the first year of queen Anne, say, "that in the last and greatest danger the church was exposed to, the dissenters joined with her, with all imaginable zeal and sincerity, against the Papists their common enemies, shewing no prejudice to the church, but the utmost respect to the bishops when sent to the Tower."

But as the king and ministry carried all before them, the church-party were in despair, and almost at their wits' end; they saw themselves on the brink of ruin, imagining that they should be turned out of their freeholds for not reading the king's declaration, and that the Nonconformists would be admitted into their pulpits; as Dr. Sherlock, master of the Temple, acknowledged in conversation to Mr. Howe;† and that, as the Papists had already invaded the universities, they would in a little time overset the whole hierarchy. In this distress they turned their eyes all around them

* "The churchmen on their side (says Dr. Warner) did all that lay in their power to establish a union, as the only possible means of their joint security. They published pamphlets from time to time, acknowledging their error in driving the Presbyterians to extremities; confessing that they were not enough upon their guard against the artifices of the court, and promising a very different behaviour on the re-establishment of their affairs. It must be owned, that this conduct was dexterous, and sensible, and just. It must be said, however (observes this author), that they had not attained this wisdom, till it was almost too late; at least, not during the space of twenty years, and till by their absurd principles of passive obedience, taught in their pulpits, and acts of parliament, they had enabled the king to become arbitrary and tyrannical. It is no less true, that an accusation lies against them of having forgotten this promise after the Revolution, as they did at the restoration of Charles II." Eccles. Hist. vol. 2. p. 639, 640.—Ed.

† "Who knows (said Dr. Sherlock) but Mr. Howe may be offered to be master of the Temple?" Mr. Howe replied, "that he should not balk an opportunity of more public service, if offered on terms he had no just reason to except against." But then he added, "that he would not meddle with the emolument, otherwise than as a hand to convey it to the legal proprietor." Upon this the doctor, not a little transported with joy, rose up from his seat and embraced him; saying, "that he had always taken him for that ingenuous honest man that he now found him to be." Mr. Howe afterward told this passage to a dignitary of the church, to whom the doctor was well known: signifying, how little he was prepared to reply to a supposition that had not so much as once entered into his thoughts before. The gentleman answered, "Sir, you say you had not once thought of the case, or so much as supposed any thing like it; but you must give me leave to tell you, if you had studied the case seven years together, you could not have said any thing more to the purpose, or more to the doctor's satisfaction." Calamy's Life of Howe, p. 141, 142. —Ed.

for relief: they applied to the dissenters, giving them the strongest assurances of a comprehension and toleration in better times, if they would but assist in delivering them out of their present troubles. Bishop Burnet says, that the clergy here in England wrote to the prince of Orange, and desired him to send over some of the dissenting preachers, whom the violence of the former times had driven into Holland, and to prevail effectually with them to oppose any false brethren, whom the court might have gained over; and that they sent over very solemn assurances, which passed through his own hands, that in case they stood firm now to the common interest, they would in a better time come into a comprehension of such as could be brought into conjunction with the church, and to a toleration of the rest. Agreeably to these assurances, when the reverend Mr. Howe, Mr. Mead, and other refugee ministers, waited on the prince of Orange, to return him thanks for the protection of the country, and to take their leave, his highness made them some presents to pay their debts and defray their charges home; and having wished them a good voyage, he advised them to be very cautious in their addresses; and not to suffer themselves to be drawn into the measures of the court so far as to open a door for the introducing of Popery, by desiring the taking off the penal laws and test, as was intended.* He requested them also, to use their influence with their brethren to lay them under the same restraints. His highness sent orders likewise to monsieur Dykvelt his resident, to press the dissenters to stand off from the court; and to assure them of a full toleration and comprehension if possible, when the crown should devolve on the princess of Orange. Agents were sent among the dissenters to soften their resentments against the church, and to assure them, that for the future they would treat them as brethren, as will be seen in the next chapter.

The dissenters had it now in their power to distress the church-party, and it may be, to have made reprisals, if they would have given way to the revenge, and fallen heartily in with the king's measures. They were strongly solicited on both sides; the king preferred them to places of profit and trust, and gave them all manner of countenance and encouragement; and the churchmen loaded them with pro-

* Calamy's Life of Howe, p. 132.

mises and assurances what great things they would do for them, as soon as it should be in their power. But, alas! no sooner was the danger over than the majority of them forgot their vows in distress; for when the convocation met the first time after the Revolution, they would not hear of a comprehension, nor so much as acknowledge the foreign churches for their brethren, seeming rather inclined to return to their old methods of persecution. So little dependance ought to be placed on high-church promises!

But in their present circumstances it was necessary to flatter the Nonconformists, and weaken the king's hands, by dissuading the dissenters from placing any confidence in their new friends: for this purpose a pamphlet, written by the marquis of Halifax, and published by advice of some of the most eminent dignitaries of the church, was dispersed, entitled, "A letter to a dissenter upon occasion of his majesty's late gracious declaration of indulgence." It begins with saying, "that churchmen are not surprised nor provoked at the dissenters accepting the offers of ease from the late hardships they lay under; but desired them to consider, 1. The cause they have to suspect their new friends. And, 2. Their duty in Christianity and prudence not to hazard the public safety by a desire of ease or revenge.

"With regard to the first, the church of Rome (says the author) does not only dislike your liberty, but, by its principles, cannot allow it; they are not able to make good their vows; nay, it would be a habit of sin that requires absolution; you are therefore hugged now, only that you may be the better squeezed another time. To come so quick from one extreme to another is such an unnatural motion, that you ought to be on your guard: the other day you were sons of Belial, now you are angels of light. Popery is now the only friend of liberty, and the known enemy of persecution. We have been under shameful mistakes if this can be either true or lasting."

The letter goes on to insinuate, "that some ministers had been bribed into the measures of the court; that they were under engagements, and empowered to give rewards to others, where they could not persuade. Now if these or others should preach up anger and vengeance against the church of England, ought they not rather to be suspected of corruption, than to act according to judgment. If they

who thank the king for his declaration should be engaged to justify it in point of law, I am persuaded it is more than the addressers are capable of doing. There is a great difference between enjoying quietly the advantage of an act irregularly done by others, and becoming advocates for it; but frailties are to be excused. Take warning by the mistake of the church of England, when after the Restoration they preserved so long the bitter taste of your rough usage to them, that it made them forget their interest, and sacrifice it to their revenge. If you had now to do with rigid prelates, the argument might be fair on your side; but since the common danger has so laid open the mistake, that all former haughtiness towards the dissenters is for ever extinguished, and the spirit of persecution is turned into a spirit of peace, charity, and condescension, will you not be moved by such an example? If it be said, the church is only humble when it is out of power; the answer is, that is uncharitable, and an unseasonable triumph; besides, it is not so in fact, for if she would comply with the court, she could turn all the thunder upon yourselves, and blow you off the stage with a breath; but she will not be rescued by such unjustifiable means. You have formerly very justly blamed the church of England for going too far in her compliance with the court; conclude, therefore, that you must break off your friendship, or set no bounds to it. The church is now convinced of its error, in being too severe to you; the next parliament will be gentle to you; the next heir is bred in a country famous for indulgence; there is a general agreement of thinking men, that we must no more cut ourselves off from foreign Protestants, but enlarge our foundations; so that all things conspire to give you ease and satisfaction, if you do not too much anticipate it. To conclude, the short question is, whether or no you will join with those who must in the end run the same fate with you? If the Protestants of all sorts have been to blame in their behaviour to each other, they are upon equal terms, and for that very reason ought now to be reconciled." How just soever the reasoning of this letter may be, either the author did not know the spirit of the church-party (as they were called), or he must blush when he compared it with the facts that followed the Revolution. Twenty thousand copies were dispersed about the city and country, and had

the desired effect, the honest well-meaning dissenters making no advantage of the favourable juncture; they entered into no alliance with the Papists, nor complied with the court-measures, any farther than to accept their own liberty, which they had a natural right to, and of which they ought never to have been deprived.

The war between the king and the church being now declared, each party prepared for their defence; the points in debate were, a general toleration, and the dispensing power; the latter of which the high-church party had connived at during the late reign; but when the edge of it was turned against themselves (the king having used it to break down the fences of the church, by abrogating the penal laws and tests, and making an inroad upon the two universities), they exclaimed against it as subversive of the whole constitution; and forgetting their late addresses, contested this branch of the prerogative. The king had secured the opinion of the judges in favour of it, but this not giving satisfaction, he determined to obtain a parliamentary sanction. For this purpose he published the following order in the Gazette, "that whereas his majesty was resolved to use his utmost endeavours, that his declaration of indulgence might pass into a law, he therefore thought fit to review the lists of deputy-lieutenants, and justices of peace in the several counties, that those may be continued who would be ready to contribute what in them lies towards the accomplishment of so good and necessary a work, and such others added to them, from whom his majesty may reasonably expect the like concurrence and assistance." Pursuant to this resolution the king's first parliament was dissolved, and agents were employed to dispose the people to the choice of such new members as might facilitate the court-measures. The king himself went a progress round the country* to ingratiate himself with the

* When he came to Chester (it being intimated that it would be expected, and the churchmen having led the way, and divers of the Lancashire ministers coming thither on purpose to attend the king), Mr. Matthew Henry, and Mr. Harvey, minister of another dissenting congregation in that city, with the heads of their societies, joined in an address of thanks to him, not for assuming a dispensing power, but for their ease, quiet, and liberty, under his protection. They presented it to him at the bishop's palace in the abbey court; and he told them he wished they had a magna charta for their liberty. They did not promise to assist in taking away the tests, but only to live quiet and peaceable lives. This, however, was severely censured by some of their brethren. But the expressions of thankfulness for their liberty were very different from the high flights and promises of sir Richard Lieving, the recorder of Ches-

people; and it can hardly be expressed, says Echard, with what joyful acclamations his majesty was received, and what loyal acknowledgments were paid him in all places; but in the affair of the tests, says Burnet,* there was a visible coldness among the nobility and gentry, though the king behaved in a most obliging manner.

When the king returned from his progress, he began to change the magistracy in the several corporations in England, according to the powers reserved to the crown in the new charters; he turned out several of the aldermen of the city of London, and placed new ones in their room. He caused the lists of lord-lieutenants and deputy-lieutenants to be reviewed, and such as would not promise to employ their interests in the repeal of the penal laws were discarded. Many Protestant dissenters were put into commission on this occasion, in hopes that they would procure such members for the next parliament as should give them a legal right to what they now enjoyed only by the royal favour; but when the king pressed it upon the lord-mayor of London, and the new aldermen, who were chiefly dissenters, they made no reply.

The reason of the dissenters' backwardness in an affair that so nearly concerned them, and in which they have since expressed so strong a desire, was their concern for the Protestant religion, and their aversion to Popery. The king was not only a Roman Catholic, but a bigot; and it was evident, that the plucking up the fences at this time must have made a breach at which Popery would enter. If the king had been a Protestant, the case had been different, because Papists could not take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy to a prince who stood excommunicated by the church of Rome; but now there would be no obstacle, or if there was, the king would dispense with the law in their favour: the dissenters therefore were afraid, that if they should give in to his majesty's measures, though they might secure their liberty for the present, it would stand on a precarious

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ter at that time; who, in a speech to king James, on his entering into the city, told him, "that the corporation was his majesty's creature, and depended on the will of its creator; and that the sole intimation of his majesty's pleasure should have with them the force of a fundamental law." Mr. Thompson's MS. collections under the word "CHESTER."—ED.

* Page 143.

foundation; for if Popery came in triumphant, it would not only swallow up the church of England, but the whole Protestant interest. They chose therefore to trust their liberty to the mercy of their Protestant brethren, rather than receive a legal security for it under a Popish government.

According to this resolution bishop Burnet observes,* that sir John Shorter the new lord-mayor, and a Protestant dissenter, thought fit to qualify himself for this office, according to law, though the test was suspended, and the king had signified to the mayor that he was at liberty, and might use what form of worship he thought best in Guildhall, which was designed as an experiment to engage the Presbyterians to make the first change from the established worship, concluding, that if a Presbyterian mayor did this one year, it would be easy for a Popish mayor to do it the next; but his lordship referred the case to those clergymen who had the government of the diocess of London during the bishop's suspension, who assured his lordship it was contrary to law; so that though the lord-mayor went sometimes to the meetings of dissenters, he went frequently to church, and behaved with more decency, says his lordship, than could have been expected. This disobliged the king to a very high degree, insomuch that he said, the dissenters were an ill-natured sort of people that could not be gained.

This opposition to the king heightened his resentments, and pushed him on to rash and violent measures: if he had proceeded by slow degrees, and secured one conquest before he had attempted another, he might have succeeded, but he gave himself up to the fury of his priests, who advised him to make haste with what he intended. This was discovered by a letter from the Jesuits from Liege to those of Friburgh, which says, the king wished they could furnish him with more priests to assist him in the conversion of the nation, which his majesty was resolved to bring about, or die a martyr in the attempt. He said, he must make haste that he might accomplish it in his lifetime;† and when one of them was lamenting that his next heir was a heretic, he answered, God will provide an heir; which argued either a strong faith, or a former design of imposing one on the nation. Father Petre was the king's chief minister,

* Burnet, p. 115. † Ibid. p. 135.

and one of his majesty's privy-council, a bold and forward man, who stuck at nothing to ruin the church. The king designed him for the archbishopric of York, now vacant, and for a cardinal's cap,* if he could prevail with the pope; for this purpose the earl of Castlemain was sent ambassador to Rome; and a nuncio was sent from thence into England, to whom his majesty paid all possible respect, and gave an audience at Windsor, though it was contrary to law; all commerce with the court of Rome having been declared high-treason by the statute of king Henry VIII. but the king said he was above law; and because the duke of Somerset would not officiate in his place at the ceremony, he was dismissed from all his employments.

It was strange infatuation in king James to put a slight on the ancient nobility, and turn most of his servants out of their places because they were Protestants; this weakened his interest, and threw a vast weight into the opposite scale. Indeed it was impossible to disguise his majesty's design of introducing Popery,† and therefore Parker, bishop of Oxford, was employed to justify it, who published a book, entitled, "Reasons for abrogating the test imposed on all members of parliament;" which must refer to the renouncing transubstantiation, and the idolatry of the church of Rome; because the members of parliament had no other qualification imposed upon them besides the oaths of allegiance and supremacy. The bishop said much to excuse the doctrine of transubstantiation, and to free the church of Rome from the charge of idolatry. His reasons were licensed by the earl of Sunderland, and the stationer was commanded not to print any answer to them; but Dr. Burnet, then in Holland, gave them a very smart and satirical reply, which quite ruined the bishop's reputation.

But his majesty's chief dependance was upon the army, which he was casting into a Popish mould; Protestant officers were cashiered; Portsmouth and Hull, the two principal sea-ports of England, were in Popish hands; and the majority of the garrisons were of the same religion. Ireland was an inexhaustible seminary, from whence England was to be supplied with a Catholic army; an Irish Roman Catholic, says Welwood, was a most welcome guest at Whitehall; and they came over in shoals. Over

* Burnet, p. 168. † Ibid. p. 178.

and above complete regiments of Papists, there was scarce a troop or company in the army wherein some of that religion were not inserted, by express orders from court. Upon the whole, the affairs of the nation were drawing to a crisis; and it was believed, that what the king could not accomplish by the gentler methods of interest and persuasion, he would establish by his sovereign power. The army at Hounslow was to awe the city and parliament; and if they proved refractory, an Irish massacre, or some other desperate attempt, might possibly decide the fate of the nation.

About this time died the Rev. David Clarkson, B. D. born at Bradford in Yorkshire, February 1621—22, and fellow of Clare-hall, Cambridge, where he was tutor to Dr. Tillotson, afterward archbishop of Canterbury. Dr. Bates in his funeral sermon gives him the character of a man of sincere godliness and true holiness: humility and modesty were his distinctive characters; and his learning was superior to most of his time, as appears by his Treatise of Liturgies, his Primitive Episcopacy, his Practical Divinity of Papists destructive to Men's Souls; and his volume of Sermons, printed after his death. He was sometime minister of Mortlake in Surrey, but after his ejectment he gave himself up to reading and meditation, shifting from one place of obscurity to another, till the times suffered him to appear openly; he was then chosen successor to the reverend Dr. John Owen,* in the pastoral office to his congregation. Mr. Baxter says, he was a divine of solid judgment, of healing, moderate principles, of great acquaintance with the fathers, of great ministerial abilities, and of a godly upright life. Great was his solemnity and reverence in prayer; and the method of his sermons was clear, deep, and instructive. His death was unexpected, though, as he declared, it was no surprise to him, for he was entirely re-

* This is an inaccuracy: he was chosen co-pastor with Dr. Owen, July 1682, a year before the doctor's death. To the above account of Mr. Clarkson, it is not improper to add, that his excellent pupil, bishop Tillotson, always preserved that respect for him which he had contracted while he was under his tuition. His book on Diocesan Episcopacy shews him, says Mr. Granger, to have been a man of great reading in church history. In his conversation, a comely gravity, mixed with innocent pleasantness, were attractive of respect and love. He was of a calm temper, not ruffled with passions, but gentle, and kind, and good; his breast was the temple of peace. Palmer's Nonconformists' Memorial, vol. 2. p. 151. Birch's Life of Tillotson, p. 4, and Granger's History of England, vol. 3. p. 310, 8vo.—Ed.

signed to the will of God, and desired not to outlive his usefulness. This good man, says Dr. Bates, like holy Simeon, had Christ in his arms, and departed in peace, to see the salvation of God above, in the sixty-sixth year of his age.

Dr. Thomas Jacomb was born in Leicestershire, and educated first in Magdalen-hall, Oxon, and after in Emanuel-college, Cambridge, from whence he removed to Trinity-college, of which he was fellow. He came to London in 1647, and was soon after minister of Ludgate parish, where he continued till he was turned out in 1662. He met with some trouble after his ejectment, but being received into the family of the countess dowager of Exeter, daughter of the earl of Bridgwater, he was covered from his enemies. This honourable and virtuous lady was a comfort and support to the Nonconformist ministers throughout the reign of king Charles II. Her respects to the doctor were peculiar, and her favours extraordinary, for which he made the best returns he was able. The doctor was a learned man, an able divine, a serious affectionate preacher, of unspotted morals, and a Nonconformist upon moderate principles. He died of a cancerous humour, that put him to the most acute pain, which he bore with invincible patience and resignation till the 27th March 1687, when he died in the countess of Exeter's house, in the sixty-sixth year of his age.*

Mr. John Collins was educated in Cambridge, New-England, and returned from thence in the times of the civil war, became a celebrated preacher in London, having a sweet voice, and a most affectionate manner in the pulpit. He was chaplain to general Monk when he marched out of Scotland into England, but was not an incumbent any where when the act of uniformity took place. Being of the Independent denomination, he succeeded Mr. Mallory as pastor of a very considerable congregation of that persuasion, and was one of the Merchant lecturers at Pinner's-hall.

* It is a proof what different colouring a character derives from the dispositions and prejudices of those whose pen draws it, that Dr. Sherlock, who seems to have received some provocation from Dr. Jacomb, represents him "as the prettiest, nonsensical, trifling goose-cap, that ever set pen to paper." This description is contradicted by the nature of his library; if the choice of books indicate the turn of the mind. He left an incomparable collection of the most valuable books in all kinds of learning, and in various languages, which sold for 1300*l.* Granger's History of England, vol. 3. p. 307.—Ed.

He was a man mighty in the Scriptures; of an excellent natural temper; very charitable to all good men, without regard to parties; and died universally lamented,* December 3, 1687.

[It seems to have escaped Mr. Neal's attention, to notice, at this period, two eminent persons, who died in the year 1686, Pearson bishop of Chester, and Fell bishop of Oxford.

Dr. John Pearson, born in 1612, was successively master of Jesus and Trinity colleges, in Cambridge; and also Margaret-professor of divinity in that university. He had the living of St. Clement's, Eastcheap, and was consecrated bishop of Chester, February 9, 1672. He was a great divine, a profound and various scholar, eminently read in ecclesiastical history and antiquity, and an exact chronologist. He united with his learning, clearness of judgment and strength of reason. As a preacher, he was rather instructive than pathetic. The character of the clergyman was adorned by an excellent temper, distinguished humility, primitive piety, and spotless manners: as a bishop, he was deemed too remiss and easy in his episcopal function. "He was (says bishop Burnet) a speaking instance of what a great man could fall to: for his memory went from him so entirely, that he became a child some years before he died." His late preferment to the episcopacy, and the great decay of his faculties, which it is to be supposed came on gradually, may account for his remissness in that station. His works were few, but of great reputation. The chief were, "A vindication of St. Ignatius' epistles," in Latin; and "An exposition of the Apostles' creed:" esteemed one of the most finished pieces in theology in our language. The substance of it was originally delivered in sermons to his parishioners. This work has gone through twelve or thirteen editions. "It is itself (says Mr. Granger) a body of divinity, but not a body without a spirit. The style of it is just; the periods are for the most part well turned; the method is very exact; and it is in general free from those

* When, during his illness, Mr. Mead affectionately prayed for his recovery at the [illegible] was to be seen through the numerous auditors. Mr. C[illegible] printed [illegible] sermon in the Morning Exercises, vol. 3, with the signature N. N. [illegible] question, "How the religions of a nation are the strength of [illegible] History [illegible] New England, book 4, p. 200, where may be seen a Latin [illegible]

errors which are too often found in theological systems." Burnet's History, vol. 3. 12mo. p. 109, 110. Granger's History of England, vol. 3. p. 251, 8vo. and Richardson's Godwin de Præsulibus, p. 779.

Dr. John Fell was the son of Dr. Samuel Fell, sometime the dean of Christ-church, Oxford: he received his classical education in the free-school at Thame in Oxfordshire: at eleven years of age he was made student of Christ-church, in 1636; and in 1643, graduated master of arts. About this time he took arms, within the garrison of Oxford, in the king's cause, and was made an ensign. In 1648, when he was in holy orders, he was displaced by the parliamentarian visitors; from that year, till the Restoration, he spent his time in retirement and study; observing the devotions of the church of England with other oppressed royalists. After the Restoration he was installed canon, and then dean of Christ-church, November 30, 1660, being then doctor in divinity, and one of the king's chaplains in ordinary. In the years 1667, 1668, and 1669, he was vice-chancellor of the university; and February 6, 1675, he was consecrated bishop of Oxford. Soon after his preferment he rebuilt the palace of Cusedon, belonging to the see. He was a munificent benefactor to his college, and raised its reputation by his discipline. He settled on it no less than ten exhibitions; and the best rectories belonging to it were his purchase. He expended great sums in embellishing and adorning the university of Oxford. Learning was greatly indebted to his patronage and munificence. He liberally improved the press of the university; and the books that came from the Sheldonian theatre perpetuate, in this respect, his praise. For many years he annually published a book, generally a classic author, to which he wrote a preface and notes, and presented it to the students of his house as a new-year's gift: amongst these was an edition of the Greek Testament, in 12mo. 1675; which Dr. Harwood pronounces to be "a very valuable and excellent edition; that does honour to the bishop, because it is upon the whole a correct book, and exhibits the various readings very faithfully." His edition of the works of Cyprian affords also a conspicuous proof of his industry and learning. But he did not lay out his fortune in public acts of splendid munificence only: the private charities of life par-

took of his beneficence. To the widow he was a husband, to the orphan a father, and to poor children a tender parent, furnishing them with instruction, and placing them out in life. "He was in all respects a most exemplary man, though (says bishop Burnet) a little too much heated in the matter of our disputes with the dissenters. But, as he was among the first of our clergy that apprehended the design of bringing in Popery, so he was one of the most zealous against it." It is a deduction from the merit of his character, as the patron of learning, that he was not well affected to the Royal Society: and it is to be regretted, that he was not friendly to that excellent man archbishop Tillotson; which was probably owing to a sense of his own sufferings before the Restoration: for he was not superior to a party spirit. Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. 2. p. 602. 605. Richardson de Præsulibus, p. 548. Burnet's History, vol. 3. p. 100. Granger's History of England, vol. 3. p. 252. British Biogr. vol. 5. p. 11; and Birch's Life of Tillotson, p. 100.]

CHAP. II.

FROM KING JAMES'S DECLARATION FOR LIBERTY OF CONSCIENCE, TO THE ACT OF TOLERATION IN THE REIGN OF KING WILLIAM AND QUEEN MARY.

1668.

THOUGH the projects of the Roman Catholics were ripe for execution, there was one circumstance which spread a black cloud over all their attempts, which was the near prospect of a Protestant successor to the crown: this was the only hope of the Protestant cause, and the terror of the Papists. To remove this impediment, his majesty first attempted to convert his eldest daughter Mary, princess of Orange, to the Roman-Catholic religion, or at least to consent to the making way for it, by taking off the penal laws. To accomplish this, his majesty wrote an obliging letter to his daughter, reciting the motives of his own conversion; which were, the "great devotion of the church of Rome; the adorning their churches; their acts of charity, which were greater than the Protestants could boast of; the numbers

who retired from the world, and devoted themselves to a religious life.* He was convinced that Christ had left an infallibility in the church, which the apostles acknowledged to be in St. Peter, Acts xv. It was the authority of the church (says he) that declared the Scriptures to be canonical; and certainly, they who declared them could only interpret them, and wherever this infallibility was there must be a clear succession, which could be no where but in the church of Rome, the church of England not pretending to infallibility, though she acted as if she did, by persecuting those who differed from her, as well Protestant dissenters as Papists; but he could see no reason why dissenters might not separate from the church of England, as well as the church of England had done from that of Rome."

The princess answered the king's letter with great respect; "she affirmed the right of private judgment, according to the apostle's rule, of proving all things, and holding fast that which is good. She saw clearly from the Scriptures, that she must not believe by the faith of another, but according as things appeared to herself. She confessed, if there was an infallibility in the church, all other controversies must fall before it, but that it was not yet agreed where it was lodged, whether in a pope, or a general council, or both; and she desired to know in whom the infallibility rested when there were two or three popes at a time, acting one against another; for certainly the succession must then be disordered. She maintained the lawfulness and necessity of reading the Holy Scriptures; for though faith was above reason, it proposed nothing contradictory to it. St. Paul ordered his epistles to be read in all the churches; and he says in one place, 'I write as to wise men, judge ye what I say;' and if they might judge an apostle, much more any other teacher. She excused the church of England's persecuting the dissenters in the best manner she could; and said the reformers had brought things to as great perfection as those corrupt ages were capable of; and she did not see how the church was to blame, because the laws were made by the state, and for civil crimes, and that the grounds of the dissenters leaving the church were different from those for which they had separated from the church of Rome." It was impossible for the princess to clear up this objection.

* Burnet, p. 149, 155, vol. 3. Edin. ed.

But bishop Burnet* adds very justly, that the severities of the church against the dissenters were urged with a very ill grace, by one of the church of Rome, that has delighted herself so often by being as it were bathed with the blood of those they call heretics. Upon the whole it appeared, that her highness was immoveably fixed in her religion, and that there was not the least prospect of her departing from it.

At the same time his majesty attempted the prince of Orange, for which purpose he employed one Mr. James Steward, a Scotch lawyer, who wrote several letters upon this argument to pensionary Fagel, in whom the prince placed an entire confidence.† The pensionary neglected his letters for some time, but at length it being industriously reported, that the silence of the prince was a tacit consent, the pensionary laid all his letters before his highness, who commissioned the pensionary to draw up such an answer as might discover his true intentions and sense of things.

The answer was dated from the Hague, November 4, 1687, and begins with assurances of the prince and princess's duty to the king; and since Mr. Steward had given him to understand, that his letters were written with the king's knowledge and allowance,‡ the pensionary assures him, in the name of their highnesses, that it was their opinion, that "no Christian ought to be persecuted for his conscience, or be ill used because he differs from the established religion; and therefore they agreed that the Papists in Scotland and Ireland should have the free exercise of their religion in private as they had in Holland; and as to Protestant dissenters, they heartily approved of their having an entire liberty of their religion without any trouble or hinderance; and their highnesses were ready to concur to the settling it, and giving their guarantee to protect and defend it. If his majesty desired their concurrence in repealing the penal laws, they were ready to give it, provided the laws by which Roman Catholics were excluded from sitting in both houses of parliament, and from all employments ecclesiastical, civil and military, remained in force; and likewise those other laws which secure the Protestant religion against all attempts of the Roman Catholics; but they could not con-

* Page 156. † Burnet, p. 165, 166. ‡ Welwood's Memoirs, p. 218.

sent to the repeal of those laws which tended only to secure the Protestant religion, such as the tests, because they imported no more than a deprivation from public employments, which could do them no great harm. If the number of the Papists were inconsiderable, it was not reasonable to insist upon it; and if those few that pretend to public employments would do their party so much injury as not to be content with the repeal of the penal laws, unless they could get into offices of trust, their ambition only was to be blamed."* This letter was carried by Mr. Steward to the king, and read in the cabinet council, but it had no effect; only the king ordered Mr. Steward to write back, that he would have all or nothing. However, the church-party were satisfied with the prince's resolution to maintain the tests; the Protestant dissenters were pleased with their highnesses' declaration for the repeal of the penal laws so far as concerned themselves, and they placed an entire confidence in their word. The lay-Papists and seculars pressed the king to accept of the repeal of so much of the penal laws as was offered, and blamed the ambition of the Jesuits and courtiers, who, rather than abate any thing, would leave them exposed to the severity of the law when a freedom was offered. At length the pensionary's letter was printed by allowance of the prince, and dispersed over England, which provoked the king to such a degree, that he spoke indecently of his highness to all the foreign ministers, and resolved to shew him the severest marks of his displeasure.

The first project of gaining the prince having failed, his majesty went upon another, which, had it succeeded, must effectually have defeated the Protestant succession; and that was, providing the nation with an heir of his own body by the present queen, though for many years she had been reckoned incapable of having children. This was first whispered among the courtiers, but was soon after confirmed by proclamation in the Gazette of January 2 and 26, 1687—88, in words to this effect, "That it had pleased Almighty God to give his majesty apparent hopes, and good assurance, of having issue by his royal consort the queen, who, through God's great goodness, was now with child;"† wherefore his majesty appoints, that on the 15th of January, in the cities of London and Westminster; and on the 29th

* Burnet, p. 167. † Gazette, no. 2306, and 2316.

in all other places of England; and on the 29th of January and 19th of February in all places in Scotland, public thanksgiving and solemn prayer be offered up to God on this occasion; and a form of prayer was drawn up accordingly by the bishops of Durham, Rochester, and Peterborough; in which were these expressions: "Blessed be that good Providence that has vouchsafed us fresh hopes of royal issue by our gracious queen Mary; strengthen her, we beseech thee, and perfect what thou hast begun. Command thy holy angels to watch over her continually, and defend her from all dangers and evil accidents, that what she hath conceived may be happily brought forth, to the joy of our sovereign lord the king, the farther establishment of his crown, the happiness and welfare of the whole kingdom, and the glory of thy great name," &c.* This struck all the Protestant part of the nation with consternation, except a few ranting tories, whose religion was at the service of the king, whensoever he should call for it. The conception was looked upon by the Jesuits as miraculous, and as the effect of a vow the queen had made to the lady of Loretto; they prophesied it would certainly be a prince; while the Protestants sighed in secret, and suspected a fraud; the grounds of which suspicion the historians of these times have related at large.

The king, emboldened with the prospect of a Popish successor, instead of venturing first upon a parliament, published another declaration for liberty of conscience, April 27, in higher strains, and more advantageous to the Papists, than the former: the substance of it was as follows:

"JAMES REX.

"Our conduct has been such in all times as ought to have persuaded the world, that we are firm and constant to our resolutions; yet, that easy people may not be abused by the malice of crafty wicked men, we think fit to declare, that our intentions are not changed since the 4th of April, 1687, when we issued our declaration for liberty of conscience in the following terms;"† [Here the declaration is recited at large, and then it follows] "Ever since we granted the indulgence, we have made it our care to see it preserved without distinction, as we are encouraged to do daily by multitudes of addresses, and many other assurances we re-

* Calamy's Abridgments, p. 382. † Gazette, no. 2342.

ceive from our subjects of all persuasions as testimonies of their satisfaction and duty; the effects of which we doubt not but the next parliament will shew, and that it will not be in vain that we have resolved to use our utmost endeavours to establish liberty of conscience on such just and equal foundations as will render it unalterable, and secure to all people the free exercise of their religion for ever, by which future ages may reap the benefit of what is so undoubtedly for the general good of the whole kingdom. It is such a security we desire, without the burden and constraint of oaths and tests, which have unhappily been made by some governments, but could never support any. Nor could men be advanced by such means to offices and employments, which ought to be the reward of services, fidelity, and merit. We must conclude, that not only good Christians will join in this, but whoever is concerned for the wealth and power of the nation. It would, perhaps, prejudice some of our neighbours, who might lose part of those vast advantages they now enjoy, if liberty of conscience were settled in these kingdoms, which are above all others most capable of improvements, and of commanding the trade of the world. In pursuance of this great work we have been forced to make many changes both of civil and military officers throughout our dominions, not thinking any ought to be employed in our service who will not contribute towards the establishing the peace and greatness of their country, which we most earnestly desire, as unbiassed men may see by the whole conduct of our government, and by the condition of our fleet and of our armies, which, with good management, shall constantly be the same, and greater, if the safety or honour of the nation require it. We recommend these considerations to all our subjects, and that they will reflect on their ease and happiness, now that above three years it has pleased God to permit us to reign over these kingdoms, we have not appeared to be that prince our enemies would make the world afraid of; our chief aim having been, not to be the oppressor, but father of our people, of which we can give no better evidence, than by conjuring them to lay aside private animosities, as well as groundless jealousies, and to choose such members of parliament as may do their parts to finish what we have begun, for the advantage of the monarchy over which Almighty

God has placed us, being resolved to call a parliament that shall meet in November next at farthest."

This declaration was published in the usual manner, and ordered to be read in time of divine service in all churches and chapels in and about London, May 20th and 27th; and in all the rest of England and Wales on the 3d and 10th of June following, upon penalty of being prosecuted in the ecclesiastical commission.* For this purpose the bishops were required to cause it to be distributed throughout their respective diocesses: some of them, says Burnet, carried their compliance to a shameful pitch, offering up their allegiance to the king without limitation or reserve. Dr. Crew bishop of Durham, Barlow of Lincoln,† Cartwright of Chester, Wood of Litchfield and Coventry, Watson of St. David's, Sprat of Rochester, and Parker of Oxford, went all the lengths of the court, and promoted addresses of thanks to his majesty in the most exalted language, for the promise he had made in his late declaration, to maintain the church of England as by law established;‡ though nothing was more evident than his design to subvert it. An address came from the clergy of Chester, justifying the declaration, as issuing from the prerogative of the king's supremacy, and insisting that the clergy were obliged by what is called statute law, the rubric of their liberty, to publish what was required by the king, or their bishop, and therefore they were troubled to hear of the disobedience of some of that bench, who, though they tenderly promised the dissenters something, yet refused to do their part about the declaration, lest they should be parties to it; which reason we with

* Gazette, no. 2344.

† Dr. Grey thinks that bishop Barlow could not be so forward a promoter of such addresses, because that in a letter to one of his clergy, dated May 29th, he informed him, that the clergy in London generally refused to read the declaration: and added, "As to myself, I shall neither persuade nor dissuade you, but leave it to your prudence and conscience, whether you will or not read it. But only this I shall advise, that if, after serious consideration, you find that you cannot read it but *reluctante vel dubitante conscientia*, in that case to read it will be your sin, and you to blame for doing it." Notwithstanding, bishop Barlow wrote so candidly on the matter, in this instance, he sent up a latter of thanks to king James for his first declaration, published reasons for reading the second, and asserted and vindicated, in an elaborate tract, the regal power of dispensing with penal laws. This bishop was not a consistent character; he was timid and complying, accommodating himself to the times, and ready to side with the strongest. At one time he was a seeming friend to the Papists, then a distinguished writer against Popery. Now an enemy to the duke of York; then ever expressing his submission to king James; and afterward taking the oaths to his successors. Biographia Britannica, vol. 1, article Barlow. Godwin de Præsulibus, p. 305.—Ed.

‡ Gazette, no. 2374.

due modesty esteem insufficient. Herbert Croft, bishop of Hereford, published his reasons for reading the declaration, from that passage of Scripture, "Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake, whether it be to the king as supreme," &c. "Now the king commanding it to be read, without requiring our assent, consent, or allowance, I cannot see (says the bishop) how it can be refused. If it be said, this is to admit of a dispensing power, yet it is not contrary to the word of God. If the king should aver his dispensing power to be inherent in the crown, and will use it as he pleases, I should beseech him not to exert it in so high a manner; but after this, what have bishops to do but submit, since here is no doctrine affirmed, but only a declaration of matter of fact."

However, the majority of the clergy were of different sentiments; eighteen bishops, and the chief of their clergy, refused to publish the declaration, so that it was read, says Burnet,* only in seven churches in London; and in about two hundred all over England.† The commissioners for ecclesiastical affairs sent out citations by the king's order,‡ requiring the chancellors and archdeacons to send in lists of all who had obeyed, and of those who had not obeyed, the order of council; together with the places where it had been neglected.§ Most of the bishops disobeyed, and generously undertook to stand in the gap, and screen the inferior clergy from prosecution: seven of them met at Lambeth, and after consultation signed an address, in behalf of themselves and several of their absent brethren, setting forth, "that they were not averse to the publishing his majesty's declaration for want of duty to his majesty, or due tenderness towards dissenters, in relation to whom (say they) we are willing to come to such a temper as shall be thought fit, when the matter comes to be considered and settled in parliament; but the declaration, being founded on such a dispensing power as may at present set aside all laws ecclesiastical and civil, appears to us illegal, and did so to the parliament in 1672; and it is a point of such great consequence, that

* Page 178.

† Some who read it on the first Sunday, changed their minds before the second. Others declared in their sermons, that, though they obeyed the order, they did not approve the declaration. And one, more pleasantly than gravely, told his people, that though he was obliged to read it, they were not obliged to hear it; and stopped till they all went out, and then read it to the walls. Burnet's History, vol. 3. p. 178. —Ed.

‡ Burnet, p. 184.

§ Gazette, no. 2364.

we cannot make ourselves party to it, so far as the reading of it in the church in time of divine service will amount to, and distributing it all over the kingdom."* Signed by Sancroft archbishop of Canterbury,† Lloyde bishop of St. Asaph, Kenn of Bath and Wells, Turner of Ely, Lake of Chichester, White of Peterborough, and Trelawny of Bristol.

The king was startled at the address, and answered, in a very angry tone, "I have heard of this before, but did not believe it; I did not expect this from the church of England, especially from some of you. If I change my mind you shall hear from me; if not, I expect my commands shall be obeyed."‡ And added, that they should be made to feel what it was to disobey him. The six bishops who brought the address replied, "The will of God be done."

Let the reader now judge, whether the slavish doctrine of nonresistance and unlimited obedience, which the high-church party had been preaching up for above twenty years as the doctrine of the church of England, had not brought the nation to the very verge of ruin. A doctrine destructive of all law, and of the safety of society, and which has been fatal to many crowned heads. If the king had not relied on the flattering addresses of these men, under which it seems there was a reserve, he would have stopped short, and taken other measures; but he did not perceive the mine till it was sprung, and blew up his whole government at once. This was the crisis upon which the fate of the nation depended.

While the king was deliberating what to do with the bi-

* Burnet, p. 176. Welwood's Memoirs, p. 184, sixth edition.

† Archbishop Sancroft, in this instance, acted contrary to what had been his conduct and avowed principle in the former reign. For when, in 1681, Charles II. published his declaration to satisfy his people about dissolving his parliament, Sancroft moved that an order should be added to it, requiring the clergy to publish it in all the churches in England. This was looked on, says Burnet, as a most pernicious precedent, by which the clergy were made the heralds to publish the king's declarations, that might, in some instances, come to be not only indecent but mischievous. But this, whatever was now his judgment, had been his decided opinion. For, on the present occasion, Dr. Cartwright, the bishop of Chester, who had been one of the prebendaries of Durham, it appears, from a paper among the MSS. of Mr. Talents of Shrewsbury, which fell into the hands of Mr. Archer of Tunbridge, could produce, and did shew to the king, a revised copy of the liturgy in 1661, given by bishop Cosins to the library at Durham; in which Sancroft had added to the rubric, where it was said, "Nothing is to be read in churches but by the bishop's order, or the king's order." Yet, when king James commanded a declaration in favour of the dissenters to be read, this archbishop was amongst the first to oppose it, in contradiction to the clause which he had dictated, and the example he had given. Calamy's History of his own Life, vol. 1. p. 173. 176.—Ed.

‡ Burnet, p. 177.

shops, he was for some time in great perplexity; several of the Popish nobility pressed him to retreat; but at length, at the instigation of father Petre, Mr. Lob, and some others, he ordered the bishops to be prosecuted; and they, refusing to enter into bonds for their appearance at the King's-bench bar, on account of their peerage, were sent to the Tower by water,* June 8, but were discharged within a week, upon entering into bonds for small sums to answer to the information that day fortnight. On the 29th of June they were brought to the King's-bench bar in Westminster-hall, attended by several of the nobility, and a vast crowd of common people; and after a long trial of ten hours were acquitted:† upon which there was a general joy, and such loud acclamations, as resounded not only in the city, but even in the army at Hounslow.‡

The bishops' address was printed by authority, with a satirical paraphrase, setting forth, that though the bishops had, without any bowels of tenderness, exercised many inhuman cruelties upon the dissenters, they promise now to

* The bishops, as they took boat, looked all very cheerfully: and the people flocked round them in great numbers, to condole with them, and ask their blessing. When they were confined, ten Nonconformist ministers visited them. Which the king took very heinously, and sent for four of them, and reprimanded them. Their answer was, "that they could not but adhere to the bishops, as men constant and firm to the Protestant faith." Even the soldiers that kept guard would frequently drink health to the bishops; and when an order was sent to the captain of the guard, to see it was done no more, the reply was, "that the soldiers were *doing* it at the very instant, and would, during the imprisonment of the bishops, drink no other health." So that in an early stage of this prosecution, one of the privy-council owned, "that had the king known how far the thing would have gone, he had never enjoined the reading the declaration in the churches." Reresby's Memoirs, p. 261, 262.—Ed.

† "There were (Dr. Welwood observes) two remarkable things in this trial. King James saw the illegality of his new-assumed prerogative exposed on one of the most solemn causes, in Westminster-hall, before one of the greatest auditories, by the council of the bishops: who boldly and learnedly argued against the dispensing power, and proved it, by *invincible* arguments, to be an open violation of the laws and constitution of the kingdom." Another remarkable circumstance was, "that they, who had contributed to enslave their country by false notions of law, now changed their opinion; and others who through two successive parliaments had, at the expense of their own sufferings, stood up for the liberty of their country, did now endeavour to stretch the prerogative beyond its just limits, as they had before opposed it. So hard is it for mankind to be, at all times, and upon all turns, constant to themselves." Welwood's Memoirs, p. 185, 186.—Ed.

‡ The bishops were complimented on their victory, in the highest manner, by all orders of men. They were ranked with the primitive confessors, and loaded with praises: they were compared to the seven golden candlesticks, and to the seven stars in Christ's right hand. Their pictures were publicly sold in all printsellers' shops, and bought up in vast numbers, as guardians of the laws, liberties, and religion, of their country. Their conduct affected king James more than any other opposition he met with. Dr. Grey's Examination, vol. 3. p. 420, 421. And, on the day after the trial, he was observed to labour under a very great disturbance of mind. Sir John Reresby's Memoirs, p. 264.—Ed.

come to a temper, but it is only such a one as they themselves should settle in convocation; and though they had all along vigorously endeavoured to advance above all law that arbitrary power upon which they suppose his majesty's declaration was founded, when it could be strained to the oppression of dissenters, yet now they oppose it, and are desirous in this juncture (as in the year 1672), that the laws for persecution should retain their force, and the dispensing power not to be countenanced, though designed for a general good.

But this was too late; the controversy between the court and the church was now no longer to be decided by the pen; and it was apparent beyond contradiction, that the hearts of the people were alienated from the king; even the dissenters (says Echard) shewed an unusual readiness to join the church against their common enemy; and whatever might be in the hearts of some, the church-party continued to discover an equal willingness to coalesce with the dissenters. When Dr. Lloyd, bishop of St. Asaph, passed through Oswestry, in Shropshire, he sent for Mr. James Owen, the dissenting minister, and ventured to acquaint him with the secret of the prince of Orange's invitation by some great persons, in which he had joined; and added, he hoped the Protestant dissenters would concur in promoting the common interest, for you and we are brethren (says he); we have indeed been angry brethren, but we have seen our folly, and are resolved, if ever we have it in our power, to shew that we will treat you as brethren.

Even archbishop Sancroft, in the circular letter which he sent to the clergy of his province, exhorted them to cultivate a good correspondence with the dissenters.* The eleventh article of his letter,† dated July 16, has these words, "that they (viz. the clergy) should walk in wisdom towards them who are not of our communion; and if there

* Calamy's Abridgments, vol. 1. p. 385.

† One of the articles of this letter enjoined the clergy, four times at least in the year, to teach the people, in their sermons, "that the king's power being in his dominions highest under God, all priests should, upon all occasions, persuade the people to loyalty and obedience to his majesty, in all things lawful, and to patient submission in the rest, promoting, as far as in them lies, the public peace and quiet of the world." This was a renewal of certain orders, issued out to the several bishops of their provinces, with the king's consent, by the archbishops of Canterbury and York, August 4th, 1622, and repeated in the reign of Charles II. High-Church Politics, p. 84.—Ed.

be in their parishes any such, that they neglect not frequently to converse with them in the spirit of meekness, seeking by all good ways and means to gain and win them over to our communion; more especially that they have a tender regard to our brethren the Protestant dissenters; that upon occasion offered they visit them at their houses, and receive them kindly at their own, and treat them fairly wherever they meet them, persuading them (if it may be) to a full compliance with our church; or at least, that whereunto we have already attained, we may all walk by the same rule, and mind the same things; and in order thereunto that they take opportunities of assuring and convincing them, that the bishops of this church are really and sincerely irreconcilable enemies to the errors, superstitions, idolatries, and tyrannies, of the church of Rome; and that the very unkind jealousies which some have had of us to the contrary were altogether groundless. And in the last place, that they warmly and affectionately join us in daily fervent prayer to the God of peace, for a universal blessed union of all reformed churches at home and abroad against our common enemy." Such was the language of the church in distress!

It was often said, that if ever God should deliver them out of their present distress, they would keep up their domestic quarrels no more;* which were so visibly and yet artfully managed by our adversaries, as to make us devour one another. Again, "I do assure you, and I am certain I have the best grounds in the world for my assurance (says one), that the bishops, when the happy opportunity shall offer itself, will let the Protestant dissenters find that they will be better than their word given in their famous petition."† Remarkable are the words of another reverend divine on the same occasion: "The bishops have under their hands declared their dispositions to come to a temper in matters of conformity, and there seems to be no doubt of their sincerity. If ever God brings us into a settled state out of the storms into which our passions and folly, as well as the treachery of others, have led us, it cannot be imagined that the bishops will go off from those moderate resolutions which they have now declared; and they continuing firm, the weak and indiscreet passions of any of those inferior clergy

* Burnet, p. 142. † Calamy's Abridgment, vol. 1. p. 336.

must needs vanish. And I will boldly say, that if the church of England, after she has got out of this storm, will return to hearken to the peevishness of some sour men, she will be abandoned both of God and man, and will set heaven and earth against her. The nation sees too clearly, how dear the dispute about conformity has cost us, to stand upon such punctilios; and those in whom our deliverance is wrapped up judge too right, that ever they will be priest-ridden in this point. And if any argument was wanting to conclude the certainty of this point, the wise and generous behaviour of the main body of the dissenters in this present juncture, has given them so just a title to our friendship, that we must resolve to set all the world against us if we can ever forget it; and if we do not make them all the returns of ease and favour when it is in our power to do it."*

The reader has now seen the various and strong assurances of favour, given by the church-party in distress, to the Nonconformists, all which, in a few months, entirely evaporated. Nevertheless, I am fully of opinion, that the low-church clergy meant honestly, and designed to be as good as their word; for which purpose a scheme was proposed to review and amend the liturgy by corrections and additions, and leaving some few ceremonies indifferent; but there was another party which lay behind the curtain, and meant no more by their protestations and promises, than to deliver themselves out of trouble; who, as they renounced the doctrine of nonresistance only to serve their turn, when that was effected, they seemed willing to forget what they had done, and were desirous of becoming as cruel persecutors as ever; they were enemies to revolution principles; and when the prince of Orange had rescued them, they would have sent him back from whence he came; these men were afterward distinguished by the names of nonjurors, jacobites, and highfliers, whose numbers were greater than the low-church clergy imagined. They prevailed in convocation, intimidated the friends of liberty and moderation, and put an effectual stop to all farther attempts of a general comprehension.†

While the bishops were in the Tower, and the princess Anne at Bath, the queen was declared to be delivered of a prince on Sunday, June 10, between the hours of nine and

* Calamy's Abridgment, vol. 426. † Ibid. p. 384, note.

ten in the morning. This mysterious birth was conducted with great artifice or great imprudence; no care had been taken to satisfy the Protestant part of the nation, that the queen was with child, though it was ridiculed in pamphlets dispersed about Whitehall. None of the Protestant ladies were admitted to be with her when she changed her linen; nor to see the milk in her breasts, nor to feel the child move within her; but all about her were Italian women. The place where her majesty was to lie in, was unknown till a few days before her delivery; and it was oddly circumstanced as to time, most of the Protestant ladies being out of the way, and preparing for church; the Dutch ambassador, then in town, was not called to be a witness, on behalf of the princess of Orange, the presumptive heir; all being finished in about two hours. The birth was attended with great rejoicings of the Popish party; a day of public thanksgiving was appointed, on which occasion a form of thanksgiving was prepared by the bishop of Rochester; and a new set of congratulations sent up from all parts of the kingdom.

Bishop Burnet, Mr. Echard, and others, have examined into the legitimacy of this birth with all possible exactness, but they have left the matter under great uncertainties.—Some have pronounced it supposititious, and no better than the last desperate effort of the Popish party to perpetuate their religion. Others, who credited the birth, have assigned very plausible reasons to suspect, that the present pretender was not the queen's child, but another's clandestinely substituted. Bishop Burnet is of opinion, that the proofs of its legitimacy were defective. However, all the hopes of a Protestant successor seemed now at an end, and the joys of the Papists consummated, the English reformation was expiring, and nothing short of a total subversion of the civil and ecclesiastical establishment to be expected.

The princess of Orange being thus cut off from the succession, his highness gave greater attention to the advices he received from England, of the queen's having miscarried some months before, and that therefore the present child must be supposititious. The church-party, being driven to distress from their favourite doctrine of nonresistance, fled with others to the prince of Orange as their last refuge, and prayed him to come over to their rescue; with this view admiral Russel, and several eminent persons, repaired to

the Hague on various plausible pretences, but in reality to invite the prince, and concert measures with him for his expedition to England; who received them favourably, and discovered a good disposition to espouse their cause, considering that his own right to the crown was now lost, and that if Popery was established in England, Holland, and the rest of the reformed interest, must be exposed to the utmost hazard. Little persuasion was wanting to prevail with the states-general to assist the English Protestants; but all the difficulty was to keep it secret while they were preparing for so critical an undertaking. The States made use of the differences about the election of an archbishop of Cologne as a reason to form an army for the security of their own borders; and the prince, who had the administration in his hands, set himself under this cover to prepare all necessaries for his intended embarkation, while Mr. Zuylestein brought him from time to time the strongest assurances of the disposition of the body of the English Protestants to appear for him at his landing, which fully fixed him in his purpose.

But the French ambassador at the Hague kept a watchful eye upon the prince's motions, and gave timely notice of the extraordinary preparations for war that were making in Holland, to his master Louis XIV. from whom king James had the first intelligence. Mr. Skelton, the English envoy at Paris, also wrote five or six letters to court on the same head, but king James gave little heed to his advices, because the prince of Orange carried it in a most courteous and respectful manner, complimenting his majesty on the birth of the prince of Wales, and causing his name to be added to the rest of the princes of the royal family to be prayed for in his chapel. However, the French king continued to alarm the court of England with the intended invasion, and offered to send over fifteen thousand men, or as many more as should be wanted, to his assistance; but the earl of Sunderland, who had lately complimented the king with his religion, prevailed with his majesty not to transport an army of French Papists into his dominions, lest it should confirm the suspicions of the Protestants, that he designed the overthrow of their religion and liberties.*

The king, being at length convinced of the prince of Orange's design, ordered the fleet to be fitted out, and the

* Burnet, p. 217.

army to be augmented; and dispatched orders to Tyrconnel to send hither several regiments from Ireland, which put the people under terrible apprehensions of an Irish massacre.

September 21, his majesty issued out his proclamation for the meeting of a new parliament, "intimating his royal purpose to endeavour a legal establishment of a universal toleration, and inviolably to preserve the church of England in possession of the several acts of uniformity, as far as they were consistent with such a toleration.* And farther to quiet the minds of his Protestant subjects, he was content that the Roman Catholics should remain incapable of being members of the house of commons, that so the legislature might continue in the hands of Protestants." September 23, the king was farther assured by letters from the marquis of Abbeville at the Hague, that pensionary Fagel had owned the design of the prince of Orange to invade England.† Upon which the king turned pale and speechless for a while, and like a distracted man looked round every way for relief, but was resolute in nothing. He postponed the meeting of the parliament, and by advice of his council applied to the bishops then in town for advice what was necessary to be done to make the church easy. The bishops moved him to annul the ecclesiastical commission, and the dispensing power: to recall all licences and faculties for Papists to keep schools, to prohibit the four pretended vicars apostolical invading the ecclesiastical jurisdiction; to fill the vacant bishopricks; to restore the charters, and to call a free and regular parliament, by which the church of England might be secured according to the act of uniformity; and provision made for a due liberty of conscience. Pursuant to this advice the king and court began to tread backward, concluding, that if they could satisfy the bishops, and recover the affection of the church, all would do well. The bishop of London's suspension was taken off, the ecclesiastical commission dissolved, the city charter and the fellows of Magdalen-college were restored, and other illegal practices renounced;‡ but upon news of the prince of Orange's fleet being dispersed by a storm, and that they would hardly be able to put to sea again till next spring, his majesty withdrew his hand from any farther redress of grievances.

* Gazette, no. 2384. † Ibid. no. 2386. ‡ Ibid. no. 2388. 2391.

But the prince having repaired the damages of the storm, sailed a second time, November 1, and after a remarkable passage, in which the wind chopped about almost miraculously in his favour,* landed at Torbay, November 5, with about fourteen thousand men, without meeting the king's fleet, which was at sea in order to intercept them. The prince brought over with him a declaration, dated October 10, divided into twenty-six articles, but reducible to three principal heads; 1. An enumeration of the public grievances, with regard to religion and civil government. 2. The fruitless attempts which had been made to redress those grievances; under which mention is made of the suspicious birth of the pretended prince of Wales. 3. A protestation that the present expedition was intended for no other purpose than to procure a free and lawful parliament; to which the prince would refer the redress of all the grievances complained of; and for the obtaining such a parliament, his highness declares, he had been most earnestly solicited by a great many lords both spiritual† and temporal, and by many gentlemen, and other subjects of all ranks, to come

* Bishop Burnet, who minutely describes the circumstances of the prince of Orange's landing, says, that though he was never inclined to superstition, but rather to be philosophical on all occasions, yet, the strange ordering of the winds and seasons to change, just as their affairs required it, made a deep impression on himself, and on all who observed it. The famous verses of Claudian seemed to be more applicable to the prince, than to him on whom they were made:

"O nimium dilecte Deo, cui militat æther,
Et conjurati veniunt ad classica venti."

"Heaven's favourite, for whom the skies do fight,
And all the winds conspire to guide thee right."

Burnet's History, vol. 3. p. 252. Edin. edit. 12mo.—Ed.

† Dr. Grey, though he cannot deny that the prince of Orange averred, in his declaration, that he was invited over by lords spiritual, yet is *not* inclined to admit the fact. He quotes, with a view to invalidate it, some letters from sir Jonathan Trelawney, bishop of Winchester, written to Mr. Echard in the years 1716, and 1718—19, in which this concurrence of the bishops, and of themselves, in the invitation to the prince of Orange, is absolutely denied. To these assertions is added a memorandum, made by sir Jonathan Trelawney, of a conversation which he had with Mr. Francis Robarts, son to the earl of Radnor, shortly after the king's coronation, on this point: who said, that he had asked commissary William Harbord, that came over with the prince, whether it was true that the bishops had taken a part in that invitation? To which Harbord answered with a curse, "No, they were not so honest. But I caused it to be put in to raise a jealousy and hatred on both sides, that king James believing it, might never forgive them; and they, fearing he did believe it, might be provoked for their own safety, to wish and help on his ruin." Against these authorities, it is to be observed that bishop Burnet asserts, that the earl of Danby drew in the bishop of London to join in the design of bringing over the prince of Orange: and that Trelawney, besides going into it, engaged also his brother, the bishop of Bristol, into it. Grey's Examination, vol. 3. p. 422; and Burnet, vol. 3. p. 214, 215.—Ed.

over to England; and to encourage the Protestant dissenters, his highness adds, that he would recommend to the parliament the making such new laws, as might establish a good agreement between the church of England and all Protestant Nonconformists, and in the mean time would suffer such as would live peaceably to enjoy all due freedom in their consciences.

The king, who had relied too much on the clergy's professions of unlimited obedience, being surprised at the expression in the prince's declaration, that he had been invited by the lords spiritual, sent for the bishops then in town, and insisted not only upon their disowning the fact, but upon their signing a paper, expressing their abhorrence of the intended invasion; but they excused themselves only with a general profession of their allegiance and duty. The church-party, says Burnet,* now shewed their approbation of the prince's expedition in such terms that many were surprised at it both then, and since that time; they spoke openly in favour of it; they expressed their grief to see the wind so cross, and wished for a Protestant wind that might bring the prince over. His majesty therefore, finding himself deceived in the church-party, and that he had no other reliance but his army, used all imaginable diligence to strengthen it. In obedience to the orders already given, two thousand five hundred men [chiefly Papists] were landed at Chester from Ireland.—Commissions were given out for raising ten new regiments of horse and foot. Three thousand Scots were ordered from that country. All the militia were commanded to be in readiness to march on the first summons; and a proclamation was issued out, requiring all horses and cattle to be removed twenty miles from those parts of the sea-coast, where it was apprehended the prince would land; but so great was the people's disaffection that they paid little regard to his majesty's orders.

Soon after his highness's landing, the body of the nation discovered their inclinations so evidently, that the king lost both head and heart at once. The city of London was in confusion; reports were spread that the Irish would cut the throats of the Protestants throughout the nation in one and the same night, which awakened the people's fears, and kept them all night on their guard. When this fright was al-

* Burnet, p. 243, 244.

layed, the mob rose and pulled down the mass houses, and burnt the materials in the streets; father Petre, with the swarms of priests and Jesuits who had flocked about the court, disappeared, and retired into foreign parts; and several of the king's arbitrary ministers, who had brought him under these difficulties, forsook him and absconded. Jefferies was taken in Wapping in a sailor's habit, and would have been torn in pieces by the mob if he had not been conducted by a strong guard to the Tower, where he died before he came to his trial. The unhappy king, being left in a manner alone, retired with a small retinue to his army at Salisbury.

The prince of Orange, having refreshed his forces, marched from Torbay to Exeter, where the nobility and gentry signed an association to support and assist his highness in pursuing the ends of his declaration, and that if any attempt was made on his person, it should be revenged on all by whom or from whom it should be made. Great numbers of common people came in to the prince at Exeter; and as soon as he marched forward towards London, prince George of Denmark, the dukes of Ormond, Grafton, lord Wharton, Churchil, and others of the first distinction, deserted the army at Salisbury, and joined the prince, with a great many Protestant officers and soldiers: so that his majesty perceived, that even the army, which was his last refuge, was not to be relied on; and to complete his unhappiness, princess Anne, his younger daughter, withdrew privately from court, with the bishop of London, who put on his buff coat and sword, and commanded a little army for her highness's defence.

Dr. Finch, son to the earl of Winchelsea, and warden of All-Souls college in Oxford, was sent to the prince from some of the heads of colleges, to invite him to Oxford, and to assure him they were ready to declare for him, and that their plate should be at his service. The prince intended to have accepted their invitation, but all things being in a ferment at London, he was advised to make all the haste thither that he could.* So he sent to Oxford to excuse his visit, and to offer them the association, which was signed by almost all the heads and the chief men of the university; even by those who being disappointed in the preferments

* Burnet, p. 257, 258.

they aspired to, became afterward his most implacable enemies.* Archbishop Sancroft also sent his compliments to the prince, and with seven or eight other bishops, signed the association, having changed the word revenge into that of punishment. This was a sudden turn, says the bishop, from those principles which they had carried a few years before. The dissenters went cheerfully into all the prince's measures, and were ready to sign the "association:" there were few or no jacobites or nonjurors among them; and throughout the whole course of king William's reign, they were among his most loyal and zealous subjects.

In this critical juncture, the queen and the young prince of Wales were sent to France, December 9, the king himself following the latter end of the month, having first caused the writs for calling a new parliament to be burnt, and the great seal to be thrown into the Thames.† After his majesty's first attempt to leave the kingdom he was seized at Feversham,‡ and prevailed with to return back to London; but when the prince resolved to come to Whitehall, and sent his majesty a message, that he thought it not consistent with the peace of the city, and of the kingdom, for both of them to be there together; his majesty retired a second time to Rochester with the prince's consent, and after a week's stay in that place went away privately in a vessel to France, leaving a paper behind him, in which he declared, that though he was going to seek foreign assistance, he would not make use of it to overthrow the established religion or the laws of his country. Thus ended the short and unhappy reign of James II. and with him the male line of the royal house of Stuarts, a race of princes raised up by Providence to be the scourge of these nations, for they were all chargeable with tyranny and oppression, favourers of Popery, and invaders of the legal constitution of their country in church and state. They enfeebled the nation by encouraging licentiousness of manners, and sunk a bold and brave people into contempt among foreign powers.

Nothing could have been more fortunate for the prince

* Echard, p. 1138. † Burnet, p. 260. 263.

‡ He was seized by Mr. Hunt, at that time a custom-house officer, who died so lately as the 24th of July, 1752, at Feversham. He boarded the ship in which the king was, by virtue of his office; and taking his majesty for a suspicious person, brought him ashore without knowing his quality; but was greatly terrified when he found it was the king. Gentleman's Magazine for July 1752, p. 337.—Ed.

of Orange, than the king's flight from Rochester to France, which furnished a plausible occasion for the convention parliament to pass a vote, that the king had abdicated the crown, and that the throne was vacant; though it would have looked more like a voluntary desertion, if his majesty had gone off the first time from Feversham, and had not declared in the paper he left behind him, that he was going to seek for foreign assistance; it is certain the king was frightened away by his priests, who possessed him with an apprehension that he was already a prisoner; and by his queen, who prevailed with him to consult his own and family's safety, by leaving the kingdom for the present. Thus a great and powerful monarch was in a few weeks reduced to a condition little better than that of a wandering pilgrim.*

The prince of Orange arrived at St. James's December 18, and on the 21st following the bishop of London, with several of the clergy, and some dissenting ministers, waited upon his highness to congratulate him on the happy success of his glorious expedition; when his lordship acquainted his highness in the name of the clergy, that there were some of their dissenting brethren present, who were herein entirely of the same sentiments with themselves.† But on the 2d of January about ninety of the Nonconformist ministers attended the prince at St. James's in a distinct body, being introduced by the earl of Devonshire, and the lords Wharton and Wiltshire: when the reverend Mr. Howe, in the name of the rest, assured his highness "of their grateful sense of his hazardous and heroical expedition, which the favour of Heaven had made so surprisingly prosperous. That they esteemed it a common felicity, that the worthy patriots of the nobility and gentry of this kingdom had unanimously concurred with his highness's designs, by whose most prudent advice the administration of public affairs was devolved, in this difficult conjuncture, into hands which the nation and the world knew to be apt for the greatest undertakings, and so suitable to the present exigency of our case. They promised their utmost endeavours, in their several stations, to promote the excellent and most desirable ends for which his highness had declared. They added their continual fervent prayers to the Almighty, for the preservation of his

* Burnet, p. 274. † Calamy, p. 387.

highness's person, and the success of his future endeavours for the defence and propagation of the Protestant interest throughout the Christian world; that they should all most willingly have chosen that time for the season of paying their duty to his highness, when the lord-bishop and the clergy of London attended his highness for the same purpose (which some of them did, and which his lordship was pleased condescendingly to make mention of to his highness), had their notice of that intended application been so early as to make their more general attendance possible at that time. Therefore, though they did now appear in a distinct company, it was not on a distinct account, but on that only which was common to them, and to all Protestants; and though there were some of their brethren of eminent note, whom age or present infirmities hindered from coming with them, yet they concurred in the same grateful sense of their common deliverance."* His highness received them very favourably, and returned them the following answer: "My great end was the preservation of the Protestant religion; and with the Almighty's assistance and permission, so to defend and support the same, as may give it strength and reputation throughout the world, sufficient to preserve it from the insults and oppression of its most implacable enemies; and that more immediately in these kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland; and I will use my utmost endeavours, so to settle and cement all different persuasions of Protestants in such a bond of love and community, as may contribute to the lasting security and enjoyment of spirituals and temporals to all sincere professors of that holy religion."

In order to settle the government, the prince published an order, desiring all persons who had served as knights, citizens, or burgesses, in any of the parliaments in the reign of king Charles II. to meet him at St. James's on Wednesday the 26th of December, at ten in the morning; and that the lord-mayor and court of aldermen of the city of London would be present, and fifty of the common-council.† This assembly desired the prince to take upon himself the administration of the government for the present; and a convention parliament was chosen with all expedition, in which various methods were proposed of settling the government:

* Howe's Life, p. 112. † Gazette, no. 2414.

some were for compromising matters with king James, and others for a regency; but after long and warm debates the throne was declared vacant, king James having abdicated the government, and broken the original contract with his people. When the question was put, whether to fill the throne with a king, or to appoint a regent, it was carried for the former only by two voices, fifty-one being for a king, and forty-nine for a regent, among which latter were twelve or thirteen bishops, two only, viz. the bishops of London and Bristol, being for a king; the reason of which was, their reluctance to contradict the doctrine they had been so long preaching, viz. that the regal power was *jure divino*, and his majesty's character indelible. They had indeed concurred in inviting the prince of Orange to come to the relief of their religion, but the storm being appeased, they thought it not incumbent on them wholly to depart from their old principles, and therefore voted for a regency; but the question being carried (says bishop Burnet), nature was so strong in them, that it was too hard for their doctrine.* And a declaration being prepared for asserting and vindicating the ancient rites and liberties of the subject, the crown was offered to the prince and princess of Orange, the latter of whom arrived from Holland the day before; and both having declared their acceptance, were proclaimed king and queen of England, &c. February 13, 1688—89, and crowned at Westminster, April 11 following, amidst the joyful acclamations of all the friends of the Protestant religion and liberties of their country.†

Thus a wonderful revolution was effected with little or no effusion of blood; and it is surprising to reflect on the remarkable appearances of Divine Providence in the rise, progress, and consummation, of this important event; how

* Burnet, p. 282.

† The Scotch also, in 1689, sent up commissioners to their majesties at Whitehall, to make a tender of their crown. On being introduced, they presented, according to the powers on which they acted, an address from the estates, the instrument of government, a recital of grievances, and a request that the convention might be converted into a parliament. The king having promised to concur with them in all just measures for the interest of the kingdom, the coronation-oath was tendered to their majesties. His conduct on this occasion deserves particular notice: it was cautious and liberal. The oath contained a clause by which they should engage to root out heresy: the king demurred on this, and declared he would not oblige himself to act as a persecutor. The commissioners replying that such was not the meaning or import of the oath, he desired them and others present, to bear witness to the exception he made. Burnet's History, vol. 4. p. 34, 12mo; and Lindsey's Historical View of the State of Unitarianism, p. 303, note.—Ed.

the court of England and the Roman-Catholic powers were all infatuated or asleep while the design was forming; and when it was carrying into execution, how the winds were subservient, and the hearts of the people united till it was brought to maturity: and it will amaze all posterity to read the inconsistent and dishonourable part which the high-church clergy and their friends acted on this occasion; for after they had preached their hereditary prince into a belief of their unlimited loyalty, and assured him in numberless addresses, that their lives and fortunes were absolutely at his service; and after the university of Oxford, by a solemn decree, had declared all manner of resistance damnable and infamous to the Christian religion, they appeared among the first who resisted him; and by opening a reserve which lay hid under their unbounded professions of duty and allegiance, let him fall into that pit out of which he could never escape. As soon as the *jure divino* king invaded the properties of the universities, and threatened to take down the fences of their ecclesiastical preferments, they invited the prince of Orange with an armed force to their rescue; they signed an association to support and assist him; they offered him their plate, and declared for him in a body, even while their sovereign was on the throne. Nevertheless, the moment they thought their power and preferments secure, they would have retracted, and made up matters again with king James; they opposed the motion in the convention parliament for declaring the throne vacant; and when the government came to be settled upon king William and queen Mary, great numbers of them would not submit, and those who did, acted a treacherous and dishonourable part to their great deliverer, throughout the course of his reign. What inconsistencies are these! What oaths and declarations can hold men who burst such bands, and cut such sacred cords asunder? The like must be observed as to their vows and promises to the Nonconformists, all which were forgot or broken as soon as the church was delivered. The dissenters acted a more consistent part, for not being entangled with the same fetters, they went heartily into the revolution, and were among king William's best and steadiest friends, when others forsook and opposed him.

No sooner were king William and queen Mary settled on the throne, than the dissenting ministers in and about

the city of London waited on their majesties with an address of congratulation, when Dr. Bates at their head made the two following speeches:

"To the King.

"May it please your majesty,

"The series of successful events which have attended your glorious enterprise for the saving these kingdoms from so imminent and destructive evils, has been so eminent and extraordinary, that it may force an acknowledgment of the divine providence from those who deny it, and cause admiration in all who believe and reverence it. The beauty and speed of this happy work are the bright signatures of his hand, who creates deliverance for his people: the less of human power, the more of divine wisdom and goodness have been conspicuous in it. If the deliverance had been obtained by fierce and bloody battles, victory itself had been dejected and sad, and our joy had been mixed with afflicting bitterness; but as the sun ascending the horizon dispels without noise the darkness of the night, so your serene presence has, without tumults and disorders, chased away the darkness that invaded us. In the sense of this astonishing deliverance we desire with all possible ardency of affection to magnify the glorious name of God, the author of it, by whose entire efficacy the means have been successful; and we cannot without a warm rapture of thankfulness recount our obligations to your majesty, the happy instrument of it. Your illustrious greatness of mind, in an undertaking of such vast expense, your heroic zeal in exposing your most precious life in such an adventurous expedition, your wise conduct and unshaken resolution in prosecuting your great ends, are above the loftiest flights of language, exceed all praise. We owe to your majesty the two greatest and most valuable blessings that we can enjoy, the preservation of the true religion, our most sacred treasure; and the recovery of the falling state, and the establishing it upon just foundations. According to our duty, we promise unfeigned fidelity, and true allegiance to your majesty's person and government. We are encouraged by your gracious promise, upon our first address, humbly to desire and hope, that your majesty will be pleased, by your wisdom and authority, to establish a firm union of your

Protestant subjects in matters of religion, by making the rule of Christianity to be the rule of conformity. Our blessed union in the purity and peace of the gospel, will make this church a fair and lovely type of heaven, and terrible to our antichristian enemies; this will make England the steady centre from whence a powerful influence will be derived for the support of reformed Christianity abroad. This will bring immortal honour to your name, above the trophies and triumphs of the most renowned conquerors. We do assure your majesty, that we shall cordially embrace the terms of union which the ruling wisdom of our Saviour has prescribed in his word. We shall not trespass farther on your royal patience, but shall offer up our fervent prayers to the King of kings, that he will please to direct your majesty by his unerring wisdom, and always incline your heart to his glory, and encompass your sacred person with his favour as with a shield, and make your government a universal blessing to these kingdoms."

To which his majesty was graciously pleased to make the following answer:

"I take kindly your good wishes; and whatever is in my power shall be employed for obtaining such a union among you. I do assure you of my protection and kindness."

"To the Queen.

"May it please your majesty,

"Your happy arrival into your native country, and accession to the crown, has diffused a universal joy through this kingdom. It is an auspicious sign of public felicity, when supreme virtue and supreme dignity meet in the same person. Your inviolable firmness in the profession of the truth, and exemplary piety, are the most radiant jewels in your crown. The lustre of your conversation, unstained in the midst of tempting vanities, and adorned with every grace, recommends religion as the most honourable and amiable quality, even to those who are averse from hearing sermons, and apt to despise serious instructions and excitations to be religious. We humbly desire, that your majesty would be pleased, by your wisdom and goodness, to compose the differences between your Protestant subjects in things of less moment concerning religion.—

We hope those reverend persons who conspire with us in the main end, the glory of God and the public good, will consent to the terms of union wherein all the reformed churches agree. We shall sincerely address our requests to God, that he will please to pour down in a rich abundance his blessings upon your majesty's person and government, and preserve you to his heavenly kingdom."

Her majesty was graciously pleased to answer,

"I will use all endeavours for the obtaining a union that is necessary for the edifying of the church.* I desire your prayers."

Though the joy that accompanied the revolution had a considerable influence on the choice of representatives in parliament, yet there being no court to make interest among the people, it appeared that the late king had a party in both houses sufficient to perplex the government, who first proposed the choice of a new parliament, in order to throw the nation into a ferment;† but this being overruled, a bill was brought in, and passed, January 23, to turn the present convention into a parliament, it being wisely concluded, that those who had set the king on the throne, would be most zealous to maintain him there; but when the house was called over, and the members required to take the oaths, eight bishops absented, viz. Dr. Sancroft archbishop of Canterbury, Turner of Ely, Lake of Chichester, Kenn of Bath and Wells, White of Peterborough, Thomas of Worcester, Lloyd of Norwich, and Frampton of Gloucester; however, that they might recommend themselves by a show of moderation, before they withdrew they moved the house of lords for a bill of toleration, and another of comprehension, which were drawn up accordingly by the earl of Nottingham, and were much the same with those prepared for the house of commons in king Charles II.'s time, during the debates about the bill of exclusion.

* This was in the spirit of a noble answer, which her majesty made to Dr. Increase Mather, who was introduced to her to solicit a new charter for New-England. He represented that her subjects in that country were generally Nonconformists, but carried it with all due respect to others: and added, that this nation had cause to bless God for the indulgence it now enjoyed under the king and her majesty. The queen answered, "It is what I am for. It is not in the power of men to believe what they please; and therefore, I think, they should not be forced in matters of religion, contrary to their persuasions and their consciences. I wish all good men were of one mind; however, in the mean time, I would have them live peaceably, and love one another." Increase Mather's Life, p. 49.—Ed.

† Burnet, vol. 4. p. 7, 8. Edin. ed. 12mo.

The clergy in general took the oaths, but it became visible that many among them took them only as oaths of submission to usurpers, with this reserve, that it was still lawful to assist king James, if he should attempt to recover the crown, and that he was still their king *de jure*, though the prince of Orange was king *de facto*, contrary to the plain meaning of the words; but the clergy broke through all these fetters, says the bishop,* to the reproach of their profession: and the prevarication of so many in so sacred a matter, contributed not a little to the atheism of the age. Indeed, they had embarked so far in their doctrines of absolute submission, and the divine right of monarchy, that they knew not how to disengage themselves with honour or conscience. Many suffered the time limited for taking the oaths to elapse, and yet officiated afterward contrary to law.—They threatened the church with a new separation, which terrified the moderate clergy, and put a stop to all amendments of the liturgy for the ease of dissenters, lest the nonjurors should gain over great numbers of the laity, by pretending to abide by the old liturgy, in opposition to the reformed one. Thus the Nonconformists were sold to the jacobites, by the timidity of their real friends; for the high-church party discovered an irreconcilable enmity to an accommodation, and seemed only to wish for an occasion to renew old severities. Those who had moved for a comprehension, and brought the bill into the house of lords, acted a very disingenuous part, says Burnet,† for while they studied to recommend themselves, by seeming to countenance the bill, they set on their friends to oppose it, representing the favourers of it as enemies to the church.

When the king came to the house, March 16, he made the following speech:‡

"My lords and gentlemen,

"Now I have occasion of coming hither to pass these bills, I shall put you in mind of one thing which will conduce much to our settlement, as a settlement will to the disappointment of our enemies. I am, with all the expedition I can, filling up the vacancies that are in the offices and places of trust by this late revolution. I hope you are sensible there is a necessity of some law to settle the oaths to be taken by all persons to be admitted to such places. I

* Burnet, vol. 3. p. 303. † Ibid. ‡ Gazette, no. 2436.

recommend it to your care to make a speedy provision for it; and as I doubt not but you will sufficiently provide against Papists, so I hope you will leave room for the admission of all Protestants that are willing and able to serve. This conjunction in my service will tend to the better uniting you among yourselves, and the strengthening you against your common enemies." It appears by this, that king William was for taking off the test, and abrogating the penal laws, as far as related to dissenting Protestants, though the parliament were of another mind.

When a bill was brought into the house of lords, for abrogating the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and framing other oaths in their stead, a committee was appointed to insert a clause to take away the necessity of receiving the sacrament in order to make a man capable of enjoying any office, employment, or place of trust; but when the clause was reported to the house, it was rejected by a considerable majority, the earls of Stamford and Chesterfield, the lords Lovelace, Delamere, North, and Grey, Wharton, and Vaughan, entering their protests.*

After this another clause was offered, by which it was provided, that such should be sufficiently qualified for any office, who, within a year before or after their admission, did receive the sacrament, either according to the usage of the church of England, or in any other Protestant congregation, and could produce a certificate under the hands of the minister, and two other creditable persons, members of such a congregation. The question being put, whether this clause should be a part of the bill, it passed in the negative; the lords Oxford, Lovelace, Wharton, Mordaunt, Montague, and Paget, entering their protests.†

* The protests of the dissentient peers were grounded on the following reasons: "that a hearty union amongst Protestants is a greater security to the church and state, than any test that could be invented: that this obligation to receive the sacrament is a test on Protestants rather than on Papists: that so long as it continued, there could not be that hearty and thorough union amongst Protestants as has always been wished, and is at this time indispensably necessary: and lastly, that a greater caution ought not to be required from such as were admitted into offices, than from the members of the two houses of parliament, who were not obliged to receive the sacrament to enable them to sit in either house." A Complete Collection of Protests, p. 62, 63; and Birch's Life of Tillotson, p. 170, 171.—Ed.

† One reason on which the lords protested, was, "that mysteries of religion and divine worship are of divine original, and of a nature so wholly distant from the secular affairs of public society, that they cannot be applied to those ends: and therefore the church, by the law of the gospel, as well as common prudence, ought to take care not to offend either tender consciences within itself, or give offence to those without,

It was proposed farther, in a committee of the house of lords, to dispense with kneeling at the sacrament; but when the question was put, whether to agree with the committee in leaving out the clause, the votes were equal, and so according to the usage of the house it passed in the negative.* The like fate attended the motion about the cross in baptism, and explaining the words assent and consent in subscription. Thus the several attempts for alterations in the church-service, at a time when the legislature was in a temper for accommodating lesser differences, were frustrated by a rising party of jacobites and tories, who threatened the new government with a revolt unless they were humoured, and for fear of them, all promises of accommodation with the dissenters were of no avail.

Soon after a bill for toleration† of Protestant dissenters was brought into the house, and had an easy passage; though some proposed, that the act should be only temporary, as a necessary restraint, that the dissenters might so demean themselves, as to merit the continuance of it, when the term of years first granted should expire; but this was rejected.—Bishop Burnet‡ says, that his zeal for this act lost him his credit with the church-party, by which it appears they did not much like it. It is entitled, "An act for exempting their majesty's Protestant subjects dissenting from the church of England, from the penalties of certain laws therein mentioned." But the corporation and test acts

by mixing their sacred mysteries with secular interests." A Complete Collection of Protests, p. 64, 65.—Ed.

* Burnet, p. 155.

† "The act of toleration (remarks a late writer) was another interference of the state to check the power of ecclesiastics, but without altering the constitution of the church. Laymen had before declared what should be deemed heresy in the spiritual courts, they now exempted some descriptions of dissenters wholly from their jurisdiction, while all others, and oppugners of the Trinity by name, were expressly reserved for the persecuting spirit of the church to operate upon." How truly then might Mr. Locke, writing to Limborch (Locke's Works, vol. 4. p. 406), soon after the passing of this act, say, "Tolerantiam apud nos jam tandem lege stabilitatem te ante hæc audiisse nullus dubito. Non ea forsan latitudine, quâ tu et tui similes veri, et sine ambitione vel invidiâ, Christiani optarent. Sed aliquid est prodire tenus. His initiis jacta spero sunt libertatis et pacis fundamenta, quibus stabilienda olim erat Christi ecclesia." High-Church Politics, p. 66. In English thus: "I doubt not before this you have heard, that toleration is at last established here by law. Not indeed with that latitude that you, and other Christians like you, unambitious, and unprejudiced, and lovers of truth, might wish. But it is a great point to proceed so far. In these beginnings, I hope, are laid those foundations of liberty and peace, on which the church of Christ will be finally established."—Ed.

‡ History, p. 14.

were not inserted in this act, and therefore remain in full force: there is an exception likewise of such as deny the doctrine of the Trinity; and Quakers are excused taking the oaths to the government, upon their making a solemn declaration therein mentioned. This act excuses all Protestant dissenters from the penalties of the laws therein mentioned, for not coming to church, provided they take the oaths, and subscribe the declaration therein mentioned. And dissenting ministers are tolerated on the like conditions, and on their subscribing the doctrinal articles of the church of England. But this being the basis and boundary of their present liberty, I have inserted the act in the Appendix, no. XIII.

While the bill for a toleration was depending, a motion was made in the house of lords for a comprehension, which was received, and some progress made towards effecting it; but a proviso being offered, and pressed with great earnestness by some temporal lords, that in imitation of the acts passed in the reigns of king Henry VIII. and Edward VI. a number of persons, both of clergy and laity, might be empowered to prepare materials for such a reformation of the church as might be fit to offer the king and parliament, it was warmly debated, and at length rejected by a small majority. Bishop Burnet* was against the proviso, for fear of offending the clergy, who would look upon it as taking the reformation out of their hands; but adds, "I was convinced soon after that I had taken wrong measures, and that the method proposed by the lords was the only one like to prove effectual." Dr. Tillotson, being of the same mind with Burnet, advised the king to refer the affair to a synod of divines, whose determinations he apprehended would stop the mouths of Papists, who reproached our reformation as built chiefly on parliamentary authority, and would be better received by the body of the clergy.†

Accordingly it was agreed in council, that a select number of learned divines should be appointed by the royal mandate, to meet and consult about the most proper methods of healing the wounds of the church; that their determinations should be laid before the convocation, and from thence receive the sanction of parliament. Agreeably to this reso-

* Burnet, vol. 4. p. 14. † Birch's Life of Tillotson, p. 179.

lution the king issued out a commission to thirty divines, of which ten were bishops, whose names were,

Dr. Lamplugh, archbishop of York,
Compton, bishop of London,
Mew, bishop of Winchester,
Lloyd, bishop of St. Asaph,
Sprat, bishop of Rochester,
Smith, bishop of Carlisle,
Sir Jonathan Trelawney, bishop of Exeter,
Dr. Burnet, bishop of Sarum,
Humphreys, bishop of Bangor,
Stratford, bishop of Chester.

To these were added the following divines,

Dr. Stillingfleet,	Dr. Montague,	Dr. Patrick,	Dr. Goodman,
Tillotson,	Beveridge,	Meggot,	Battely,
Sharp,	Alston,	Kidder,	Tennison,
Aldridge,	Scot,	Jane,	Fowler,
Hall,	Grove,	Beaumont,	Williams.

Their commission was as follows:

"Whereas the particular forms of divine worship, and the rites and ceremonies appointed to be used therein, being things in their own nature indifferent and alterable, and so acknowledged, it is but reasonable that upon weighty and important considerations, according to the various exigencies of times and occasions, such changes and alterations should be made therein, as to those that are in place and authority should from time to time seem either necessary or expedient.

"And whereas the book of canons is fit to be reviewed, and made more suitable to the state of the church; and whereas there are defects and abuses in the ecclesiastical courts and jurisdictions; and particularly, there is not sufficient provision made for the removing of scandalous ministers, and for the reforming of manners, either in ministers or people. And whereas it is most fit that there should be a strict method prescribed for the examination of such persons as desire to be admitted into holy orders, both as to their learning and manners;

"We therefore, out of our pious and princely care for the good order, edification, and unity, of the church of England committed to our charge and care, and for the reconciling as much as is possible of all differences among our good subjects, and to take away all occasion of the like for the future, have thought fit to authorize you, &c. or any nine of you, whereof three to be bishops, to meet from time to time as often as shall be needful, and to prepare such alterations of the liturgy and canons, and such proposals for the reformation of the ecclesiastical courts; and to

consider of such other matters as in your judgments may most conduce to the ends above mentioned."*

The committee having assembled in the Jerusalem-chamber, a dispute arose about the legality of their commission; Sprat bishop of Rochester, one of king James's ecclesiastical commissioners being of the number, they pretended to fear a premunire, though there was not so much as a shadow for such a pretence, the king's supremacy, if it means any thing, empowering him to appoint proper persons to prepare matters for the legislature: however, upon this debate, Mew bishop of Winchester, Sprat of Rochester, with Dr. Jane and Dr. Aldridge, withdrew. Some of them declared plainly, they were against all alterations whatsoever; they thought too much would be done for the dissenters, in granting them an act of toleration, and they would do nothing to make conformity easier. They said farther, that altering the customs and constitutions of the church, to gratify a peevish and obstinate party, was likely to have no other effect than to make them more insolent.† But was it ever tried? Did the convocation or parliament make a single abatement from the year 1662, to this time? If the experiment had been tried, and proved ineffectual, the blame might have been cast upon the dissenters; but to call them peevish and obstinate, without offering them any, even the smallest concessions, deserves no better a name than unjust calumny. —Was there no obstinacy and peevishness on the side of the church, in retreating from so many promises without a single offer? But it was said farther, that the church, by proposing these alterations, seemed to confess that she had hitherto been in the wrong, and that the attempt would divide them among themselves, and lessen people's esteem for the liturgy, if it appeared that it wanted correction. Such were the reasonings of these high divines, if they deserve the name, some of whom but a few months before had made the warmest pretences to a spirit of moderation.

It was alleged on the other side, that if a few corrections or explanations were allowed, there was reason to hope it would bring over many of the people, if not the teachers themselves; at least, if the prejudices of the present dissenters were too strong, it might have a good effect on the next generation; nor could it be any reproach to the church,

* Life of Archbishop Tennison, p. 10, &c. † Burnet, vol. 4. p. 44.

since the offers were made only in regard to their weakness. Ritual matters were of an indifferent nature, and became necessary in virtue only of the authority that enjoined them, therefore it was an unreasonable stiffness to deny any abatements, in order to heal the church's divisions. Great changes had been made by the church of Rome in her rituals; and among ourselves since the Reformation, in the reigns of king Edward VI. queen Elizabeth, king James, and king Charles II. and it seemed necessary at this time to make the terms of communion as large as might be, that so a greater number might be brought over, since, by the act of toleration, they might dissent with safety.

But while these matters were debating, the jacobite-party took hold of the occasion to inflame men's minds against the government. It was pretended the church was to be pulled down, and presbytery established: the universities took fire, and declared against alterations, and against all who promoted them, as men who intended to undermine the hierarchy. Severe reflections were cast on the king himself, as not being in the interest of the episcopacy, for the cry of the church's danger was raised by the enemies of the government, as that under which they thought they might safely shelter their evil designs. Great interest was made in the choice of convocation men, to whom the determinations of the committee were to be referred, so that it was quickly visible that the laudable designs of the king and the ecclesiastical commissioners would prove abortive.

However, the committee continued their work till they had finished it; they had before them all the exceptions that either the Puritans before the war, or the Nonconformists since the Restoration, had made to the church-service.* They had also many propositions and advices that had been suggested at several times, by many of our bishops and divines upon these heads; matters were well considered, and freely and calmly debated, and all was digested into an entire correction, of every thing that seemed liable to any just exception. Dr. Nichols says, they began with reviewing the liturgy, and first in examining the calendar; they ordered, in the room of the Apocryphal lessons, certain chapters of canonical Scripture to be read, that were more to the people's advantage; Athanasius's creed being dis-

* Burnet, p. 44.

liked, by reason of the damnatory clauses, it was left to the minister's choice to use it, or change it for the Apostles' creed.* New collects were drawn up, more agreeable to the Epistles and Gospels, for the whole course of the year, with that elegance and brightness of expression, says the doctor, and such a flame of devotion, that nothing could more affect and excite the hearts of the hearers, and raise up their minds towards God; they were first prepared by Dr. Patrick; Dr. Burnet added to them farther force and spirit; Dr. Stillingfleet afterward examined them with great judgment, carefully weighing every word in them; and Dr. Tillotson had the last hand, giving them some free and masterly strokes of his sweet and flowing eloquence. Dr. Kidder made a new version of the Psalms, more agreeable to the original. Dr. Tennison made a collection of the words and expressions throughout the liturgy which had been excepted against, and proposed others in their room that were clear and plain, and less liable to exception —singing in cathedrals was to be laid aside—the Apocryphal lessons were to be omitted, together with the legendary saints' days—the cross in baptism to be left to the choice of the parent—and kneeling at the sacrament to be indifferent —the intention of Lent fasts was declared to consist only in extraordinary acts of devotion, not in distinction of meats— the word priest was to be changed for minister—the use of the surplice is left to the discretion of the bishop, who may dispense with it, or appoint another to read the service— godfathers and godmothers in baptism may be omitted if desired, and children presented in their parents' names— reordination of those who had been ordained by presbyters was to be only conditional—but these, with some other useful alterations in the litany, communion-service, and canons, will not be known till the papers themselves are made public. However, these concessions and amendments would, in all probability, have brought in three parts in four of the dissenters.†

While these things were debating in parliament, and among the commissioners, an address was presented, April 19, praying, that according to the ancient custom and usage of the kingdom in time of parliament, his majesty would

* Apparatus, p. 95, 96.

† Calamy's Abridgment, vol. 1. p. 452. 464. See also Birch's Life of Tillotson, p. 182. 196.

issue out his writ for calling a convocation of the clergy to be advised with in ecclesiastical matters, assuring his majesty, that it was their intention forthwith to proceed to the consideration of giving ease to the Protestant dissenters; but when they met, it quickly appeared, that the high-church party were superior to the moderate, by their choosing Dr. Jane,* who drew up the Oxford decree, prolocutor, in preference to Dr. Tillotson.† His majesty sent a letter or message by the earl of Nottingham, assuring them of his constant favour and protection, and that he had summoned them, not only because it was usual upon holding parliaments, but out of a pious zeal to do every thing that might tend to the best establishment of the church of England, and desiring them to consider of such things as by his order should be laid before them, with a due and impartial zeal for the peace and good of the church. But there was no room for his majesty's interposition, the lower house of convocation quickly coming to a resolution, not to enter into any debates with relation to alterations; and it was not without difficulty carried to make a decent address to the king, thanking him for his promise of protection. And the address which the bishops sent down, acknowledging the protection which the Protestant religion in general, and the church of England in particular, had received from his majesty, the lower house would not agree to it, because it

* The election of Dr. Jane to be prolocutor, as it shewed the sentiments and spirit of a great majority, so it was the principal occasion that nothing succeeded. For as soon as he got into the chair, he addressed the lower house in a speech, which, besides extolling the church of England above all other Christian communities, he concluded with these words, "*Nolumus leges Angliæ mutare*;" i. e. "We will not change the laws of England:" and, in the progress of the session, he opposed every thing that was intended or proposed by the royal commission. Bishop Compton's Life, p. 52; and Life of Dr. Prideaux, p. 54. The conclusion of the prolocutor's speech, it is excellently observed in a late valuable publication, was "to be admired from the mouth of an old English baron; consistent, perhaps, with the declaration of a conclave, if matters of faith and worship were in agitation there; but ill suited, to the greatest degree, on such an occasion, to the character of a Protestant divine." Hints, &c. by a Layman, p. 27, fourth edition.—Ed.

† It is disgraceful to human nature, and painful to the generous mind, that the most liberal and excellent designs are defeated by revenge, and disappointed ambition. This was the case in the affair before us. The election of Dr. Jane was effected by the intrigues of two noble lords, who being disappointed in their expectation of advancement to some of the higher employments, after the Revolution, on account of their relation to the queen, out of resentment contrived to have Dr. Jane called to the chair, that they might baffle what was intended by the convocation, and so embarrass government. He was also, on the like principles, a man fit for their purpose. For having been refused the see of Exeter, before promised to bishop Trelawney, which he asked when he was sent from the university of Oxford to make an offer of their plate to the prince of Orange, he was so disgusted, that he became a professed enemy to king William. Life of Dr. Prideaux, p. 54, 55.—Ed.

imported their owning some common union with the foreign churches.* They would thank his majesty for his care to establish the church of England, whereby the interest of the Protestant churches abroad would be better secured, but would not insert the words, "this and all other Protestant churches," as the bishop had desired.

The bishop of London, in his answer to the prolocutor's speech, told them, that they ought to endeavour a temper of things not essential to religion; and that it was their duty to shew the same indulgence and charity to the dissenters under king William, which some of the bishops and clergy had promised in their addresses to king James.† But all these promises, says bishop Burnet, were entirely forgotten. It was in vain, therefore, to refer the amendments of the ecclesiastical commissioners to a number of men, who had resolved to admit of no alterations; and it is thought that if the act of toleration had been left to their decision, it would have miscarried.‡ The king, observing such a want of temper, broke up the sessions; and seeing they were in no disposition to do good, they were kept from doing mischief by prorogations for a course of ten years.

This was the last fruitless attempt§ for a comprehension of dissenters within the establishment; and such was the un-

* This was the first foundation of the differences in the convocation, which have ever since been kept up, to the grief of pious minds, and to the disgrace of the clergy. For the inferior clergy not agreeing to this address, another address was drawn up and presented to the king by the bishop of London, six of his brethren, and several doctors in divinity: who were solemnly introduced to his majesty, sitting on his throne in the banqueting-house, by the lord-chamberlain. Bishop Compton's Life, p. 54, 55.—Ed.

† Bishop Compton closed his speech, which breathed a different spirit from that of Dr. Jane, with these words of Joseph's to his brethren, "*Ne multuamini in consiliis vestris;*" thereby exhorting them to unanimity and concord. Bishop Compton's Life, p. 53.—Ed.

‡ It marks the mischief and the evil of the spirit of opposition, that amongst the other instances in which the design of holding this convocation miscarried, was the failure of an attempt to restore family-devotion. For a book, containing directions and forms for family-worship, was provided to be authorized by this convocation. It was left in the hands of Dr. Williams, bishop of Chichester, but has been since lost. Dr. Prideaux's Life, p. 61. 65.—Ed.

§ I am tempted to give here the reflections of an admirable piece, which report ascribes to a *noble* pen. "The prolocutor's veto has hitherto proved triumphant; and we have too much reason to apprehend, that, on one pretence or other, these laws, binding the consciences of men, will become, *in effect*, as unalterable as those of the Medes and Persians ever were; though probably, in these days, few will venture to hold a doctrine so thoroughly repugnant to all religious liberty. Such, however, was the fate of this attempt to render the service of the established church as pure as possible, and to clear away those parts, which, from that day to the present, continue to offend so many respectable and conscientious persons. Considering the character and abilities of those who undertook the task, it can never be sufficiently lamented

grateful return that these stubborn churchmen made to those who had assisted them in their distress! For it ought to stand upon record, that the church of England had been twice rescued from the most imminent danger, by men for whose satisfaction they would not move a pin, nor abate a ceremony; first in the year 1660, when the Presbyterians restored the king and constitution without making any terms for themselves; and now again at the Revolution, when the church fled for succour to a Presbyterian prince, and was delivered by an army of fourteen thousand Hollanders, of the same principles with the English dissenters; and how uncivilly those troops were afterward used, is too ungrateful a piece of history to remember.

But besides the strong disposition of the high-church clergy and their friends, to return to their allegiance to king James, there was another incident that sharpened their resentments against the king and the dissenters, which was his majesty's consenting to the abolition of episcopacy in Scotland, which could not be prevented without putting all his affairs into the utmost confusion; the bias of that people was strong to presbytery, and the more so, because the episcopal party went almost universally into king James's interests, so that the Presbyterians were the only friends the king had in that kingdom.* There was a convention called in Scotland like that in England, who on the 11th of April, the day on which king William and queen Mary were crowned in England, passed judgment of forfeiture on king James, and voted the crown of Scotland to king William and queen Mary. They drew up a claim of rights, by

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that their endeavours proved so unsuccessful." For archbishop Wake, speaking of them before the lords, while he was bishop of Lincoln, thus expresses himself: "They were a set of men, than which this church was never, at any one time, blessed with either wiser or better, since it was a church; and a design that, I am persuaded, would have been for the interest and peace of our church and state, had it been accomplished." And when we find among them names whose memory we revere, Compton, Lloyd, Burnet, among the bishops; with Tillotson, Stillingfleet, Patrick, Sharp, Kidder, &c. among the others; it is clear, that posterity has confirmed the testimony of this learned and sagacious prelate, and regrets the more the loss of their beneficent intentions.—Hints, &c. by a Layman, p. 27—29. To the names mentioned by this writer we would particularly add Dr. Humphrey Prideaux; as he was not only a great friend to the scheme then on foot for a comprehension with the dissenters, but published a piece in favour of that design, under the title of "A Letter to a Friend relating to the preset Convocation at Westminster;" which was highly applauded by moderate and candid men, and of which several thousands were sold within a fortnight after its publication. British Biography, vol. 7. p. 224, 225. —Ed.

* Burnet, vol. 4. p. 32.

one article of which it was declared, that the reformation in Scotland having been begun by a party among the clergy; prelacy in the church was a great and insupportable grievance to the kingdom. The bishops and their adherents, having left the convention, because not summoned by writ from king James, the Presbyterians had a majority of voices; whereupon the abolishing episcopacy in Scotland was made a necessary article of the new settlement. The episcopal party sent the dean of Glasgow to king William, to know his intentions concerning them, who answered he would do all he could to preserve them consistent with a full toleration to the Presbyterians, provided they concurred in the new establishment; but if they opposed it, he should not enter into a war for their sakes. The bishops, instead of submitting to the Revolution, resolved unanimously to adhere firmly to king James, and declared in a body with so much zeal against the new settlement, that it was not possible for the king to support them. The clergy sent for king James into Scotland, and the earl of Dundee collected some thousands of Highlanders to make a stand; but general Mackay, who was sent with a body of forces to disperse them, routed them at a place called Gillicranky, and killed the earl of Dundee upon the spot. So that episcopacy in Scotland fell a sacrifice to the interest of king James.

But though it was impossible to stop the torrent of the Scots people's zeal for presbytery; and though the king had only Presbyterians on his side in that kingdom, yet the suffering it to take place, increased the disaffection of the English clergy. Reports of the king's dislike of the hierarchy were spread with great industry; the leading men of both universities were possessed with it, says Burnet,* though the king had joined in communion with the church, and taken the sacrament according to law; but it was given out, that men zealous for the church were neglected, and that those who were indifferent to the ceremonies were promoted.—His majesty promised the Scots clergy to moderate matters in their favour, and lord Melvil, secretary of state, engaged very solemnly for the same purpose; but when the Presbyterians threatened to desert the court if they were deserted by them, Melvil thought it the king's interest to secure them in all events, which could not be done but by

* Burnet, p. 40.

abandoning the ministers of the episcopal persuasion. Such therefore as refused to read the proclamation of king William and queen Mary by the prefixed day were deprived of their livings; which being published up and down England, and much aggravated, raised the aversion of the friends of the church against the Presbyterians so high, says bishop Burnet,* that they began to repent their having granted a toleration to a party, who, where they prevailed, shewed so much fury against those of the episcopal persuasion. It ought, however, to be remembered, that this was a government case, that the fate of the Revolution in that kingdom depended upon it; and that the bishops and episcopal clergy, almost to a man, were determined jacobites, and refused to take the oaths to king William and queen Mary. Besides, what reason had the Scots Presbyterians to trust the episcopal clergy, when it was in their power to do themselves justice? Had they not deceived them out of their discipline in 1662, and persecuted them cruelly ever since? Whoever peruses the dreadful sufferings of the kirk in the reign of Charles II. will judge how far they had reason to replace them in the saddle, and deliver the reins into their hands.

But the disaffection of the high-church clergy stopped not short of the king himself, who was made uneasy by their malignant spirit, and restless endeavours to clog the wheels of his government;† insomuch that his majesty sometimes declared, with more than ordinary vehemence, that he would not stay in England and hold an empty name; that it was not easy to determine which was best, a commonwealth or kingly government; but he was sure the worst of all governments was, a king without treasure, and without power. He once resolved to return to Holland, and leave the government in the queen's hands, imagining they would treat her better;‡ and he communicated his design to the marquis of Carmarthen, the earl of Shrewsbury, and others, who besought him with tears to change his resolution, and at last prevailed: but had his majesty declared this from the throne, the nation was in a temper to have done him justice on the incendiaries; for notwithstanding their clamours, they knew their desperate situation if the king should desert them, having renounced their allegiance

* Burnet, p. 42. † Ibid. p. 49. ‡ Ibid. p. 55, 56.

to king James, and gone such lengths as he could never forgive. But king William, having a generous mind, imagined they might be gained by gentleness and kindness, and therefore took up with a motley ministry, which distressed him to the last. Thus the tories and high-church clergy enjoyed the advantages of this glorious revolution, while they acted a most ungrateful part towards their deliverer, and a most unkind and ungenerous one to their dissenting brethren.

Nor have these gentlemen ceased to discover their enmity to the dissenters since that time, as often as the power has been in their hands. It was impossible to injure them while king William lived, but no sooner was queen Anne advanced to the throne, than they endeavoured to cramp the toleration by the bill against occasional conformity, which was brought into the house one sessions after another, till at length it obtained the royal assent in the latter end of the year 1711, under the specious title of, "An act to preserve the Protestant religion, and to confirm the toleration, and farther to secure the Protestant succession." It makes some few concessions in support of the toleration, but then it enacts, "that if any persons in office, who by the laws are obliged to qualify themselves by receiving the sacrament, or test, shall ever resort to a conventicle or meeting of dissenters for religious worship, during the time of their continuance in such office, they shall forfeit twenty pounds for every such offence, and be disqualified for any office for the future, till they have made oath that they have entirely conformed to the church, and not been at any conventicle for the space of a whole year." So that no person in the least office in the customs, excise, or common-council, &c. could ever enter the doors of a meeting-house. But the reader may peruse the act at large in the Appendix, number XIV.

In the last year of queen Anne the toleration was farther straitened by an act to prevent the growth of schism; for with these gentlemen all dissenters are schismatics, and in order to prevent their increase, the education of their children was taken out of the hands of their friends, and intrusted only with such who were full and entire conformists.

And if any schoolmaster or tutor should be willingly present at any conventicle of dissenters for religious worship, he shall suffer three months' imprisonment, and be

disqualified, as above, from teaching school for the future. The act was to take place August 1, 1714, the very day the queen died; but his late majesty king George I. being fully satisfied that these hardships were brought upon the dissenters for their steady adherence to the Protestant succession in his illustrious house, against a tory and jacobite ministry, who were paving the way for a Popish pretender, procured the repeal of them in the fifth year of his reign. The last-mentioned act, with the repeal, is inserted in the Appendix, number XV. and XVI. together with a clause which forbids the mayor, or other magistrate, to go into any meeting for religious worship with the ensigns of his office.

Many of the ejected ministers of 1662, and others, survived the Revolution, and made a considerable figure in the reigns of king William and queen Mary. As,

Rev. William Bales, D. D.	Rev. Tho. Gilbert, B.D.	Rev. Matt. Sylvester
Obad. Grew, D. D.	Jos. Hill, B. D.	Christ. Nesse, M. A.
Sam. Annesly, D. D.	Robert Bragge	John Humphrys, M.A.
John Collings, D. D.	Matth. Mead	Richard Mayo
Richard Baxter	Jas. Forbes, M. A.	Matth. Clarke, sen.
Vincent Alsop, M. A.	Tho. Cole, M. A.	Isaac Chauncey, M. D.
John Howe, M. A.	Geo. Griffith, M. A.	Sam. Slater, M. A.
Tho. Doolittle, M. A.	Nath. Mather	Daniel Williams, D. D.
Phil. and Matth. Henry, M. A.	Edward Veal	John Spademan, M. A.
John Flavel	John Quick	Robert Billio
Matthew Barker, M. A.	Nath. Vincent, M. A.	Rich. Steele, M. A.
George Cockayne	Rd. Stretton, M. A.	Nath. Taylor
John Faldo	Geo. Hammond, M.A.	R. Flemming, M. A.
W. Lorimer, M. A.	Richard Kentish	Daniel Burgess
	H. Newcome, M. A.	James Owen, &c.

These, and others who deserve an honourable mention, were learned and useful men, and most of them popular preachers, serviceable to the societies for reformation of manners, and eminent confessors in the cause of liberty and scriptural religion; but their deaths not happening within the compass of this work, I must leave them to be remembered by the historians of after-times.

END OF MR. NEAL'S HISTORY.

SUPPLEMENT.

SUPPLEMENT,

CONTAINING

A SKETCH OF THE HISTORY OF THE BAPTISTS AND QUAKERS.

CHAPTER I.

SOME ACCOUNT OF THE BAPTISTS, OR ANTIPÆDOBAPTISTS, FROM THE DAYS OF WICKLIFFE TO THE REIGN OF JAMES I. A. D. 1370—1600.

ALTHOUGH the Baptist profession does not assume a visible appearance in England, by the formation of churches in a state of separation from their brethren of the Pædobaptist persuasion, earlier than the reign of James I.; it is beyond all reasonable doubt that individuals were to be found, maintaining those principles in every subsequent age, from the days of Wickliffe, that morning star of the Reformation.

It is perhaps impossible for us, after a lapse of four or five centuries, to decide the question, whether the great English reformer, did or did not oppose the baptism of infants. It is a fact, however, which admits of no dispute, that he maintained and propagated those principles, which, when carried out into their legitimate consequences, are wholly subversive of the practice in question. And if Wickliffe himself did not pursue the consequence of his own doctrines so far, yet many of his followers did, and were made Baptists by it.

One of the maxims held by this reformer was, "that wise men leave that as impertinent, which is not plainly expressed in Scripture:"* in other words, that nothing should be practised in the church of God, as a branch of

* Fuller's Church History, p. 133.

worship, which is neither expressly commanded nor plainly exemplified in the New Testament. It is upon this principle that the Baptists make their stand. They examine the sacred writings, and there find, that in their Lord's commission, baptism stands connected with the preaching of the everlasting gospel; that the apostles, who well understood their Master's will, administered it to none but those who professed to repent and believe the gospel; and that thus it was the first disciples "put on Christ," or were initiated into his visible kingdom; for, such as gladly received the word, were baptized and added to the churches.

All our historians agree in affirming that the doctrines of Wickliffe spread very extensively throughout the country; insomuch that, according to Knighton, a contemporary historian, "more than half the people of England embraced them and became his followers." Soon after his death, they began to form distinct societies in various places. Rapin tells us that, "in the year 1389, the Wickliffites, or Lollards, as they were more commonly named, began to separate from the church of Rome, and appoint priests from among themselves to perform divine service after their own way. Though some were from time to time persecuted by the bishops, yet their persecutions were not rigorous. Their aim seemed to be only to hinder them from pleading proscription. Besides, a petition presented to the king by a former parliament, to revoke the power granted to the bishops to imprison heretics, restrained the most forward".*

During the usurpation of Henry IV. A. D. *1400*, the clergy who had been instrumental to his elevation obtained from him a law for the burning of heretics, which they were not long in carrying into operation. One of the first victims to their sanguinary edict was William Sawtre, said to have held the principles of the Baptists, and who was burnt in London in the year 1400. He had been sometime minister of the parish of St. Margaret, in the town of Lynn; but, adopting the tenets of the Lollards, he was convicted of heresy by the bishop of Norwich, and though by temporizing he for a while averted the dreadful sentence, yet he ultimately fell a martyr to the cause of truth. If we may credit the testimony of those who lived near the time when this took place, the diocess of Norwich,

* Rapin's Hist. of England, vol. 1. p. 480.

in which Sawtre resided, abounded with persons of similar sentiments; but the cruel and ignominious death of this good man struck terror into the followers of Wickliffe, and made them more cautious how they exposed themselves to a similar fate by divulging their opinions. Yet Fuller relates, that, such was the craft and diligence of the clergy, they found out means to discover many of them, and by *ex officio* informations which they now obtained, they persecuted them with great cruelty, so that the prisons were filled with them—many were induced to recant, and such as refused were treated without mercy.*

That the denial of the right of infants to baptism, was a principle generally maintained among the Lollards or followers of Wickliffe, is abundantly confirmed by the historians of those times. Thomas Walden, who wrote against Wickliffe, terms this reformer, "one of the seven heads that rose up out of the bottomless pit, for *denying infant baptism*, that *heresie of the Lollards*, of whom he was so great a ringleader." Walsingham, another writer, says, "It was in the year *1381*, that that damnable heretic John Wickliffe received the cursed opinions of Berengarius," one of which unquestionably was the denial of infant baptism. The Dutch martyrology, also, gives an account of one sir L. Clifford, who had formerly been a Lollard, but had left them, and who informed the archbishop of Canterbury that the Lollards would not baptize their new-born children. The fact is, therefore, put beyond dispute, that the principles of the Antipædobaptists were prevalent during the whole of the fifteenth century, though we are unable to trace them as embodied in the formation of distinct churches under that denomination.

In the history of the Welsh Baptists compiled by Mr. Joshua Thomas of Leominster, we have some interesting information respecting a Mr. Walter Brute, who is said to have been a gentleman of rank, learning, and parts, in the diocess of Hereford, about the end of the fourteenth century. This person, though reckoned a layman by the Popish clergy, was indefatigable in propagating the truth himself, "teaching openly and privately, as well the nobles as the commons." In this good work he was assisted by two of his intimate friends, viz. Mr. William Swin-

* Fuller's Church History, p. 164.

derby, and Mr. Stephen Ball, who were both of them preachers of note, and all maintaining the doctrines of Wickliffe. Fox, the Martyrologist, has given a particular account of Mr. Brute, and of his religious sentiments, extracted from the register of the bishop of Hereford. One of his tenets was, that *faith ought to precede baptism*, and that baptism was not essential to salvation. A commission was granted by Richard II. about the year 1392, addressed to the nobility and gentry of the county of Hereford, and to the mayor of the city, authorizing them to persecute Brute, on a charge of preaching heresy in the diocess and places adjacent, and also with keeping conventicles. In consequence of this, Mr. Brute retired into privacy, and Swinderby and his friends fled into Wales, to be out of the county and diocess of Hereford. Amidst the mountains and valleys of the principality, they continued for some time instructing all that came unto them. They seem, however, ultimately to have been apprehended and brought to trial, and Fox mentions that Swinderby, the friend of Walter Brute, was burnt alive for his profession in Smithfield, A. D. 1401; what became of the latter, he does not particularly say, but from what he relates of his bold and spirited defence upon his trial, it is probable that he shared the same fate.

Dr. Wall, the learned author of the History of Infant-Baptism, seems desirous of pursuading his readers that there were no Baptists in England, when Henry VIII. ascended the throne at the commencement of the sixteenth century, A. D. 1511. But upon that supposition, it is not easy to account for the sanguinary statutes which in the early part of this reign were put forth against the Anabaptists. In the year 1535, ten persons avowing these sentiments, are mentioned in the registers of the metropolis, as having been put to death in different parts of the country, while an equal number saved themselves by recantation. In the following year, the convocation sat, and after some matters relating to the king's divorce had been debated, the lower house presented to the upper a catalogue of religious tenets which then prevailed in the realm, amounting to sixty-seven articles, and they are such as respected the Lollards, the new reformers, and the Anabaptists. The latter are most particularly pointed at;—the indispensable necessity of bap-

tism, for attaining eternal life, is most peremptorily insisted on; that "infants must needs be christened, because they are born in original sin, which sin must needs be remitted, and which can only be done by the sacrament of baptism, whereby they receive the Holy Ghost, which exerciseth his grace and efficacy in them, and cleanseth and purgeth those from sin by his most secret virtue and operation. *Item.* That children or men once baptized, can, nor *ought ever to be baptized again. Item.* That they ought to repute and take all the Anabaptists, and every other man's opinions agreeable to the said Anabaptists, for detestable heresies, and utterly to be condemned." On the 16th November 1538, a proclamation was issued, condemning all the books of the Anabaptists, and ordering those to be punished who vended them; and in the following month a circular letter was addressed to all the justices of peace throughout England, solemnly warning them to take care that all the injunctions, laws, and proclamations, against the Anabaptists and others, be duly executed. In the same year an act of grace was passed, from the provisions of which all Anabaptists were excepted.* If the country did not abound with Baptists at this time, why were those severe measures enforced against them?

We learn from Fuller's Church History, that at the period when Henry VIII. was married to Anne of Cleves, "the Dutch flocked into England in great numbers, and soon after began to broach their strange opinions, being branded with the general name of Anabaptists." He adds, that "these Anabaptists, in the main, are but Donatists new dipped. And this year their name first appears in our English Chronicles, where I read, that four Anabaptists, three men and one woman, all Dutch, bare fagots at Paul's cross; and three days after, a man and a woman of their sect were burnt in Smithfield."†

When the historian says, that it was in the year 1538 that the names of these sectaries first appeared in an English Chronicle, there is considerable obscurity attached to his meaning. To suppose him to assert that the Anabaptists do not appear in the annals of England before that year, is to accuse him of contradicting his own writings, and viola-

* Burnet's History of the Reformation, vol. 3. book 3.
† Fuller's Church History, book 4. Stow's Chronicle, p. 576.

ting the truth of history. Bishop Burnet says, that "in May 1535, nineteen Hollanders were accused of holding heretical opinions, among which was a denial that the sacraments had any effect on those that received them: fourteen of them remained obstinate, and were burnt by pairs in several places."* This denial of the efficacy of the sacraments evidently points to the Baptists, who strenuously opposed the administration of that ordinance to infants on the ground of its saving efficacy. In the same year, as has been already stated, the registers of London mention certain Dutch Baptists, ten of whom were put to death; and in the articles of religion set forth by the king and convocation, A. D. 1536, the sect of the Anabaptists is specified and condemned. In fact, it is easy to trace the Baptists in England at least a hundred years prior to the time mentioned by Fuller. His words must therefore be restricted to the punishments first inflicted in England upon the Mennonites, or Dutch Baptists, who had emigrated to this country.

In the year 1539, the thirtieth of the reign of Henry VIII. we find certain legal enactments promulgated, one of which was "that those who are in any error, as Sacramentaries, Anabaptists, or any others, that sell books having such opinions in them, being once known, both the books and such persons shall be detected, and disclosed immediately to the king's majesty, or one of his privy-council, to the intent to have it punished without favour, *even with the extremity of the law.*"† From this it appears, that the Baptists not only existed in England, but that they were in the habit of availing themselves of the art of printing, which had not long been discovered, for the defence of their peculiar and discriminating tenets; and to such an extent too, as to alarm the clergy, and induce them to call upon the legislature for measures of severity, in order to restrain their circulation.

In the same year, it appears from the Dutch Martyrology, that sixteen men and fifteen women were banished the country for opposing infant-baptism. They retired to Delf in Holland, where they were pursued and prosecuted before the magistrates as Anabaptists, and put to death for their supposed errors, the men being beheaded and the women drowned. Such were the sanguinary proceedings against the

* History of the Reformation, vol. 1. book 3. p. 195.
† Fox's Martyr. vol. 2. p. 440.

Baptists, in the reign of Henry VIII. a monarch who professedly espoused the cause of reformation.

Edward VI. ascended the throne in 1547, and though only nine years of age, he was evidently a great blessing to the country. He encouraged the reading of the Scriptures in his own language, received home again such as had been banished during the former reign, and restrained persecution in all its direful forms to the utmost of his power. Fox tells us that "during the whole time of the six years' reign of this young prince, much tranquillity, and as it were a breathing time, was granted to the whole church of England; so that the rage of persecution ceasing, and the sword taken out of the adversaries' hand, there was now no danger to the godly, unless it were only by wealth and prosperity, which many times bringeth more damage in corrupting men's minds, than any time of persecution or affliction. In short, during all this time, neither in Smithfield, nor in any other quarter of this realm, was any heard to suffer for any matter of religion, either Papist or Protestant, two only excepted; one an English woman, called Joan of Kent; and the other a Dutchman, named Goorge."*

Bishop Burnet informs us, that at this time there were many Anabaptists in several parts of England.—These persons laid it down as a foundation principle, that the Scripture was to be the only rule of Christians. They denied that the baptism of infants could be fairly deduced from Scripture: "they held that to be no baptism, and so were rebaptized." On the 12th of April 1549, there was a complaint brought to the council, that with the strangers that were lately come into England, some of that persuasion had come over, who were disseminating their errors and making proselytes. A commission was accordingly ordered for the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishops of Ely, Worcester, Westminster, Lincoln, and Rochester, &c. &c. to examine and search after all Anabaptists, heretics, or contemners of the Common Prayer—to endeavour to reclaim them, or, if obstinate, to excommunicate and imprison them, and deliver them over to the secular power, to be farther proceeded against. Some tradesmen in London were brought before the commissioners, and were persuaded to abjure their former

* Acts and Monuments, p. 685.

opinions, one of which was "that the baptism of infants was not profitable."

One of those who thus abjured, was commanded to carry a fagot on the following Sunday at St. Paul's, where a sermon was to be preached setting forth his heresy But Joan Boucher, commonly called Joan of Kent, was extremely obstinate. "The excuse for thirsting after this woman's blood (says one of our older historians) which Cranmer and the other bishops evinced was, that she was an Anabaptist, and that the Anabaptists in Germany had turned all religion into allegories, and denied the principles of the Christian faith—that they had also broke out into rebellion, and driven the bishops out of Munster, where they set up John of Leyden, one of their teachers, for king, and called the city New Jerusalem. But Joan Boucher was not charged with rebellion, nor yet with a breach of peace. And bishop Burnet himself acknowledges, that there were Anabaptists of gentle and moderate principles and manners, whose only crime was, that they thought baptism ought not to be given to infants, but to grown persons alone. If the bishops did not distinguish this moderate sort of Baptists from the madmen of Munster, there is reason to judge the death of Joan Boucher to be no better than murder. She was indeed charged with maintaining, besides adult baptism, "that Christ was not truly incarnate of the Virgin, whose flesh being sinful, he could not partake of it, but the Word, by the consent of the inward man in the Virgin, took flesh of her"—a scholastic distinction, incapable of doing much mischief, and far from deserving so severe a punishment. The principles of orthodoxy surely ought not to destroy the principles of humanity! It is not in a man's power to believe all that another may tell him; but is he therefore to be burned for not effecting an impossibility? Had the apostles promulged any such doctrine among either Jews or Gentiles, when Christ sent them to preach the gospel to *all nations*, and baptize those that believed, not even the power of miracles would have been sufficient to establish a religion thus founded on cruelty and injustice."*

The bishops named in the commission for searching after the Baptists, were, Cranmer, Ridley, Goodrich, Heath,

* Oldmixon's History of England, vol. 1. p. 187.

Scory, and Holbeach, two of whom were, in the following reign, themselves burnt for heresy. When this poor woman had been convicted, and condemned as an obstinate heretic, she was given over to the secular power, and Cranmer was employed to persuade the king to sign the warrant for her execution. But the young monarch was so struck with the cruelty and unreasonableness of the sentence passed upon her, that when he was requested to sign the warrant for her execution, he could not, for some time, be prevailed on to do it. Cranmer argued from the law of Moses, according to which blasphemers were to be stoned: he said, he made a great difference between other points of divinity, and those which were levelled against the Apostles' creed—that there were impieties against God, which a prince, being his deputy, ought to punish, just as the king's deputies were obliged to punish offences against the king's person! These certainly were very futile pleas, and bishop Burnet says, they rather silenced than satisfied the young king; who still thought it a hard thing, as in truth it was, to proceed so severely in such cases. Accordingly, he set his hand to the warrant with tears in his eyes, telling Cranmer, that if he did wrong, as it was done in submission to his authority, *he* (the archbishop) should answer for it to God! This struck the prelate with much horror, so that he was very unwilling to have the sentence carried into effect. Every effort was now made to induce the woman to recant: both Cranmer and Ridley took her in custody to their own houses, to try if they could prevail upon her to do so; but remaining inflexible, she was executed May 2, 1550, bishop Scory preaching at her burning.*

It would seem, at first sight, a little remarkable, that so much pains should have been taken with Joan Boucher to make her retract her opinions: but our surprise will cease when we attend to the account which Strype gives of her in his Annals of the Reformation: "She was (says he) a great disperser of Tyndal's New Testament, translated by him into English, and printed at Cologne; and was moreover a great reader of Scriptures herself. Which book also she dispersed in the court, and so became known to certain women of quality, and was particularly acquainted with Mrs. Anne Askew. She used, for greater secrecy, to tie the

* Burnet's Hist. Reformation, vol. 2. part 2. p. 110.

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books with strings under her apparel, and so pass with them into court."* From this it would appear that she was a person of no ordinary rank in life, but one whose sentiments on religious subjects were entitled to respect; and that, having tasted of the good word of God herself, and knowing its ineffable value to the souls of her fellow-creatures, she was not afraid of hazarding her own personal safety, in those perilous times, to put others in possession of the oracles of eternal truth.

There is a remarkable circumstance connected with the burning of this *illustrious* female, related by Fox, which is worth inserting in these pages. I extract it from Crosby's History, vol. 1. p. 59, who tells us, that he has taken it from Peirce's Answer to Nichols. "When the Protestant bishops (says Fox) had resolved to put [this woman] to death, a friend of Mr. John Rogers,† the divinity-reader in St. Paul's church, came to him, earnestly entreating him to use his interest with the archbishop, that the poor woman's life might be spared, and other means used to prevent the spreading of her opinions, which might be done in time; urging, too, that though while she lived she infected few with her opinions, yet she might bring many to think well of them, by suffering for them. He therefore pleaded, that it was much better she should be kept in some prison, where she had no opportunity of propagating her notions among weak people, and thus she would be precluded from injuring others, while she might live to change her own mind. Rogers, on the other hand, pleaded, that she ought to be put to death. Well then, said his friend, if you are resolved to put an end to both her life and her opinions, choose some other kind of death, more consonant to the gentleness and mercy prescribed in the gospel, there being no need that such tormenting deaths should be resorted to in imitation of the Papists. Rogers answered, that *burning alive was not a cruel death*, but easy enough! On hearing these words, which expressed so little regard to the poor creature's sufferings, his friend replied with great vehemence, at the same time striking Rogers's hand, which before he had held fast, "Well, perhaps it may so happen, that you yourselves will one day have your hands full of *this mild burning!*"

* Eccles. Mem. vol. 2. p. 214.

† Supposed by Mr. Peirce to be *Fox himself!*

And so it came to pass, for Rogers was the first man who was burnt in queen Mary's reign!

The pious bishop Latimer lived during the reign of Edward VI. and has borne a very honourable testimony to the Baptists of his day. In his Lent-sermons preached before the king, he says, "The Anabaptists that were burnt [during the reign of Henry VIII.] in divers towns in England, as I heard of credible men, for I saw them not myself, went to their death intrepidly, as ye will say, without any fear in the world, but cheerfully."

That the Baptists were very numerous at this period, is unquestionable; and that many of those who were led to the stake in the reign of queen Mary were of that persuasion, is equally clear; though historians have not been very careful in recording their opinions on that point. Indeed, there is no want of proof concerning the hatred in which they were held by the ruling party, one instance of which may be mentioned. In the year 1550, after much cavilling in the state, an act of grace was passed, extending the king's general pardon to all persons, those confined in the Tower for crimes against the state, and also *all Anabaptists* being excepted! In the same year, Ridley, who had recently been raised to the bishoprick of London, held a visitation of his diocess; and among other articles, enjoined on his clergy this was one: "to see whether any Anabaptists or others held private conventicles, with different opinions and forms from those established by law." This excellent young prince, who was of the most promising expectations, and, in the judgment of many impartial persons, the very phœnix of his time, was removed by death in the seventeenth year of his age, and the seventh of his reign; by some, suspected to be owing to poison. Dr. Leighton, speaking of his premature death, says, "This king, a gracious plant, whereof the soil was not worthy, like another Josiah, setting himself with all his might to promote the Reformation, abhorred and forbid that any mass should be permitted to his sister. Farther, he was desirous not to leave a hoof of the Romish beast in his kingdom, as he was taught by some of the sincerer sort. But as he wanted instruments to effect this good, so he was mightily opposed in all his good designs by the prelatists, which caused him, in

his godly jealousy, in the very anguish of his soul, to pour out his soul in tears."*

Of the short and sanguinary reign of queen Mary, Mr. Neal has furnished a faithful compendium, vol. 1. p. 70—104, and we have little to add to his narrative. In the first year of her reign, a person of the name of Woodman was cited before the bishop of Winchester, to answer to certain allegations touching his orthodoxy. "Hold him a book (said the bishop): if he refuse to swear, he is an Anabaptist, and shall be excommunicated." This criterion for ascertaining whether or not the poor man was or was not infected with heresy, is no farther entitled to notice than as it proves two things; namely, the existence of Baptists at that time in the country, and the severity of the penal laws against them. On another occasion, when Mr. Philpot was under examination by the lords of the council (November 5, 1555), it was remarked by one of his judges, that "all heretics boast of the Spirit of God, and every one would have a church of his own, as Joan of Kent, and the Anabaptists!" A pretty plain indication that the Baptists of that day were not only contending for the divine authority of that institution; but also for the necessity of their separating themselves unto the law of the Lord, and maintaining the importance of their own principles. It is painful to dwell upon the merciless proceedings of this reign, and we shall dismiss it with a few additional remarks.

In the beginning of June 1558, a proclamation was issued, of which the following is a copy.

BY THE KING AND QUEEN.

"Whereas divers books, filled with heresy, sedition, and treason, have of late, and be daily brought into this realm, out of foreign countries, and places beyond the seas; and some also *covertly printed within this realm*, and cast abroad in sundry parts thereof, whereby not only God is dishonoured, but also encouragement given to disobey lawful princes and governors: the king and queen's majesties, for redress hereof, doth, by their own proclamation, declare and publish to all their subjects, that whosoever shall, after the

* For Dr. Toulmin's Reflections on the state of the Baptists during the reign of Edward VI. see vol. 1. p. 69, 70, of this work.

proclaiming hereof, be found to have any of the said wicked and seditious books, or, finding them, do not forthwith burn the same, shall, in that case, be reported and taken for *a rebel*, and shall, without delay, *be executed* for that offence, *according to martial law*."

A week after the publishing of this proclamation, a meeting of Protestants was detected at Islington, and twenty-two individuals, men and women, were seized and taken before sir Roger Cholmley, who turned them over to the bishop of London, who, in the cruelty of his tender mercies, turned thirteen of them over to the executioners, seven of them to be burnt in Smithfield, and six at Brentford!*

Among those who were committed to the flames in Smithfield, on this occasion, was, Mr. Roger Holland, a gentleman descended from a very respectable family in Lancashire, where several of his predecessors are to be found enrolled in the list of sheriffs for the county. At a hearing before bishop Bonner; lord Strange, son of the earl of Derby; sir Thomas Gerrard; Mr. Eccleston of Eccleston, with many other gentlemen of the county, appeared to speak on his behalf. In his youthful days, Mr. Holland had been, not only a bigoted Papist, but also a very dissipated and profligate young man. He was, however, converted from the error of his way by the pious instructions of a servant-maid, in the family in which he resided. She put into his hands some books both in defence of the truth of the gospel, and against the errors of Popery. These means were, through the blessing of Heaven, so efficacious, that he became the member of a congregational church in London, married the female to whom he was under such lasting obligations, and sealed the profession of the gospel with his blood: his wife also suffered great affliction for maintaining the same truths. Two others, of the Islington congregation, were taken by Bonner, stripped naked, and flogged in his garden at Fulham, in a most unmanly posture, to such a degree, that a bundle of rods was worn out in scourging them! But on the character of this queen, and the general complexion of her reign, let it suffice in this place, to give an extract from an oration, composed by the learned John Hailes, esq.† and

* Oldmixon's England, vol. 1. p. 284, *folio*.

† Mr. Hailes, the writer of this oration, was bred at Oxford, and deservedly held in high reputation for his learning. He was highly esteemed by the lord-keeper, sir Nicholas Bacon, and by lord Burleigh; two of the greatest men of that age.

delivered to queen Elizabeth, soon after her accession to the throne.

"It was not enough for these unnatural English tormentors (says Mr. Hailes), these tyrants and false Christians, to be lords of the goods, possessions, and bodies, of their brethren and countrymen; but being very antichrists and enemies of the cross of Christ, they would be gods also, and reign in the consciences and souls of men. Every man, woman, and child, must deny Christ in word openly, abhor Christ in their deeds, slander him with word and deed, worship and honour false gods as they would have them, and as themselves did, and so give body and soul to the devil, their master: or, secretly flee, or, after inward torments, be burnt openly. O cruelty, cruelty, far exceeding all the cruelties committed by those famous ancient tyrants, Herod, Caligula, Nero, Domitian, &c. &c. whose names, for their cruel persecution of the people of God, have been, and ever will be, held in perpetual hatred. If any man would undertake to set forth particularly all the acts that have been done these full five years by this unnatural woman (rather say, this monster covered with the shape of a woman), as it is necessary for the glory of God, and the profit of the church, and of this realm, that it should be done, he will find it a subject sufficient for a perfect and a great history, and not to be contained in an oration to be uttered at one time by the voice of man. But to comprehend the sum of all their wickedness in few words, behold, whatever malice in mischief, covetousness in spoil, cruelty in punishing, tyranny in destruction, could do; that, all this poor English nation, these full five years, either suffered already, or should have suffered, had not the great mercy of God prevented it."*

Queen Elizabeth ascended the throne in the year 1558; and, though a decided enemy to Popery, or, more properly speaking, to the authority of the pope, yet, such was her blind and bigoted determination to enforce a uniformity of worship among all her subjects, that the Baptists were called to no small share of suffering for conscience' sake, during the whole of her reign. The complexion of her reign, however, was very different from that of her sister. The fires of Smithfield were not lighted up in such

* Oldmixon, p. 293.

profusion; but the same sanguinary laws remained in force; and all who disclaimed human authority in the kingdom of Christ—who maintained the word of God to be the only rule of faith and duty, were either compelled to temporize and conceal their convictions, or were subject to great pains and penalties. The queen, says sir Francis Walsingham when sketching the features of her government, "laid down two maxims of state: one was, not to force consciences—the other was not to let factious practices go unpunished, because they were covered by pretexts of conscience." The strictures which Mr. Neal has passed on these maxims of government, vol. 1. p. 115—120, are so exceedingly pertinent that it is needless here to enlarge on them. Bishop Burnet tells us that she did not at first revive those severe laws which were passed in her father's time, by which the refusal of the oath of supremacy was made *treason*, but left her subjects to the freedom of their thoughts, and only made it penal to extol a foreign jurisdiction. She also laid aside the title "supreme head," of the church, and those who refused the oath were only disabled from holding benefices during their refusal. But after the twentieth year of her reign, the political posture of affairs compelled her, we are told, to adopt a different line of conduct. "Then, pecuniary punishments were inflicted on such as withdrew from the church; and in conclusion she was forced to make laws of greater rigour.—As for the Puritans, as long as they only inveighed against some abuses, such as pluralities, nonresidents, or the like, it was not their zeal against those, but their violence, that was condemned. *When they refused to comply with some ceremonies*, and *questioned the superiority of the bishops*, and declared for a democracy in the church, they were connived at with great gentleness—but they set up a new model of church-discipline, *without waiting for the civil magistrate*, and entered into combinations; then it appeared that it was faction, and not zeal, that animated them. Upon that, the queen found it necessary to restrain them more than she had done formerly." Such is bishop Burnet's apology for the intolerant proceedings of this reign.

The share which the Baptists had in these severities, will appear from the mention of a few instances. Dr. Wall relates, that about the sixteenth year of queen Elizabeth,

a congregation of Dutch Antipædobaptists was discovered without Aldgate, in London, of whom twenty-seven were taken and imprisoned; and the following month one man and ten women of them were condemned.* Another writer informs us, that it was at Easter, 1575, that this took place, and that four of them recanted at Paul's cross, on the 25th May, and that the rest were banished the kingdom.† The following is the form of their abjuration.

"Whereas, we being seduced by the devil, the spirit of error, and by false teachers, have fallen into these most damnable and detestable heresies, that Christ took not flesh of the substance of the Virgin Mary—that the infants of the faithful ought not to be baptized; and that a Christian man may not be a magistrate, or bear the sword and office of authority; and that it is not lawful for a Christian man to take an oath: now, by the grace of God, and by the assistance of good and learned ministers of Christ's church, I understand the same to be most damnable and detestable heresies; and do ask God, before his church, mercy for my said former errors, and do forsake, recant, and renounce, them: and I abjure them from the bottom of my heart, protesting I certainly believe the contrary. And farther I confess, that the whole doctrine, established and published in the church of England, and also that which is received in the Dutch church in London, is found true and according to God's word: whereunto in all things I submit myself, and will be most gladly a member of the said Dutch church; from henceforth utterly abandoning and forsaking *all and every Anabaptistical error.*"‡

This abjuration-oath, which was administered by Dr. Delaune, then minister of the Dutch church, Austin Friars, sufficiently indicates the arbitrary and intolerant spirit of the age. Fuller, the historian, mentions the same facts, with some additional circumstances. "Now began the Anabaptists (says he) wonderfully to increase in the land; and as we are sorry that any countrymen should be seduced with that opinion, so we are glad that the English as yet were free from that infection." He then goes on to relate the apprehension of the twenty-seven Baptists at Aldgate,

* History of Infant Baptism, book 2. p. 212.
† D'Assigny's Mystery of Anabaptism, p. 368.
‡ Crosby, vol. 1. p. 68.

and adds that two of them were so obstinate, that orders were issued for their being committed to the flames in Smithfield. This induced the celebrated John Fox, the martyrologist, to interpose in their behalf, supplicating her majesty to reprieve them. The letter was written in Latin, but Mr. Crosby has furnished us with the following translation of it:

"Most serene and happy princess—most illustrious queen, the honour of our country, and ornament of the age. As nothing has been farther from my thoughts and expectations, than ever to disturb your most excellent majesty by my troublesome interruption; so it grieves me very much, that I must break that silence which has hitherto been the result of my mind. But, so it now happens by, I know not what infelicity, that the present time obliges me, contrary to my hope and opinion, to that which of all things in the world I least desired: and though hitherto I have been troublesome to nobody; I am now, contrary to my inclination, constrained to be importunate, even with my princess: not in any matter or course of my own, but through the calamity brought upon others. And by how much the more sharp and lamentable that is, by so much the more I am spurred on to deprecate it.

"I understand there are some here in England, though not English, but come hither from Holland, I suppose both men and women, who having been tried according to law, publicly declared their repentance, and are happily reclaimed. Many others are condemned to exile—a light sentence, in my opinion. But I hear there are one or two of these, who are appointed to the most severe of punishments, namely, *burning*, unless your clemency prevent it. Now in this one affair, I consider there are two things to be considered; the one is, the wickedness of their errors; the other, the severity of their punishment. As to their errors, indeed, no man of sense can deny that they are most absurd; and I wonder that such monstrous opinions could come into the mind of any Christian; but such is the state of human weakness, if we are left never so little awhile destitute of the divine light, whither is it that we do not fall? And we have great reason to give God thanks on this account, that I hear not of any Englishman that is inclined to this madness. As to these fanatical sects, therefore, it

is certain, they are by no means to be countenanced in a commonwealth, but in my opinion ought to be suppressed by proper correction. But to *roast alive* the bodies of poor wretches, that offend rather through blindness of judgment than perverseness of will, *in fire and flames*, raging *with pitch and brimstone*, is a hard-hearted thing, and more agreeable to the practice of the Romanists than to the custom of the Gospellers: yea, it is evidently of the same kind as if it had flowed from the Romish priests, from the first author of such cruelty, Innocent III. O, that none had ever brought such a Phalarian bull into the meek church of Christ! I do not speak these things, because I am pleased with their wickedness, or favour the errors of any men; but seeing I am myself a man, I must therefore favour the life of man—not that he should err, but that he should repent. Nay, my pity extends not only to the life of man, but even to the beasts.

"For, it is perhaps folly in me; but I speak the truth, that I can hardly pass by a slaughter-house where cattle are killing, but my mind revolts with a secret sense of their pains. And truly I greatly admire the clemency of God in this, who had such regard to the mean brute creatures, formerly prepared for sacrifices, that they must not be committed to the flames, before their blood had been poured out at the foot of the altar. Whence we may gather, that in inflicting punishments, however just, we must not be over rigorous, but temper the sharpness of rigour with clemency. Wherefore, if I may be so bold with the majesty of so great a princess, I humbly beg of your royal highness, for the sake of Christ, who was consecrated to suffer for the lives of many, this favour at my request, which even the divine clemency would engage you to, that if it may be, and what cannot your authority do in such cases, these miserable wretches may be spared; at least, that a stop may be put to the horror, by changing their punishment into some other kind. There are excommunications, and close imprisonment; there are bonds; there is perpetual banishment, burning of the hand, and whipping, or even slavery itself. This one thing I most earnestly beg, that the piles and flames in Smithfield, so long ago extinguished by your happy government, may not now be again revived. That if I may not obtain this, I pray with the greatest earnest-

ness, that out of your great pity you would grant us a month or two, in which we may try whether the Lord will give them grace to turn from their dangerous errors; lest with the destruction of their bodies, their souls be in danger of eternal ruin."*

So far the venerable John Fox: but what a train of reflection does this letter give rise to, were this the place to indulge in it. One natural inference is, that, in his judgment, the power of the civil magistrate may very properly be exercised in coercing opinions in matters of religion, and in punishing those who dare to think differently from the national standard, provided the punishment be not excessive! These "fanatical sects are by no means to be countenanced in a commonwealth—but *ought to be suppressed with proper correction:*—there are excommunications, and close imprisonment; exile is a light sentence, in his opinion; there are bonds, perpetual banishment, burning in the hand, and whipping, or even slavery itself." To any of these the venerable martyrologist could give his consent; but the *roasting alive* of human beings is a "hard-hearted thing," from which his compassionate heart revolted. Her majesty's heart, however, it appears, was not quite so soft: for though she had a high respect for the writer, and constantly called him her "father Fox," she was not his dutiful daughter, but met his request with a flat denial, "unless after a month's reprieve and conference with divines, they would recant their errors." "She declared their impieties to be damnable, and that she was necessitated to this severity, because, having formerly punished some *traitors*, were she now to spare these *blasphemers*, the world would condemn her as being more in earnest in asserting her own safety, than the honour of her God." All the difference then between her majesty and the learned martyrologist, in this instance, merely regarded the *quantum* of punishment to be inflicted; for, on the principle, they were fully agreed! And certainly where the point in dispute was so *trivial*, it was very proper that the queen should follow her own judgment. Accordingly, the writ, *De heretico comburendo*, that is, for burning heretics, which for seventeen years had only hung up *in terrorem*, was now taken down and put in execution, and the two

* The original of this letter is given in the Appendix to this volume, No. III. p. viii.

Anabaptists, John Wielmaker and Henry Torwoort, were committed to the flames in Smithfield, July 22, 1575.

I have dwelt the more largely upon this affair, because it presents us with a fair specimen of the state of the public mind in regard to toleration during the boasted reign of queen Elizabeth. And now, before we dismiss the matter wholly, let us pause and examine a little coolly "these monstrous opinions," which Fox wonders should ever enter the mind of any Christian.—"This madness," which "endangered the eternal ruin of their souls," according to his notion of the matter, and which her majesty considered to be "damnable impieties," implying *blasphemy* against God, not to be expiated but by the extremest tortures.

The first article in this dreadful catalogue of crimes, respected the human nature of the Son of God; a speculation indulged by Joan of Kent, and many other truly pious persons in that day. They had read, in the writings of the holy Evangelist, that Christ's human nature was *miraculously* formed in the womb of a virgin, by the power of the Most High coming upon her; that the body of the Saviour was not produced according to the ordinary laws of generation; and that consequently "that *holy thing* which was born of her," was not subject to the original taint which descended from Adam to his posterity. Even admitting that it was improper to indulge speculation on this sublime mystery, which we ought to receive as it is delivered to us, without curiously prying into things quite beyond our reach, it is not easy to find the monstrous impiety, the damnable heresy, in it, which should entitle its abettors to such condign punishment. For aught we can see, it was a harmless speculation, which no way affected either the faith or the obedience of the gospel. And as to the other articles of their impeachment, it would be trifling with the reader's time here to enlarge upon them. That infants *ought not* to be baptized, must be allowed by all who admit that either precept or example is necessary to authorize us in whatever we practise as a branch of worship. The unlawfulness of taking an oath, and of Christians filling the offices of civil magistracy, though to me they both appear unfounded objections, originating in a misapplication of certain texts of Scripture, were nevertheless opinions that had been current among

the Waldenses, Albigenses, and Wickliffites, and indeed have been prevalent in every age of the church since the days of the apostles. Now, to say nothing of the infernal cruelty of roasting alive these individuals, there is something monstrously wicked, even in compelling them to abjure these harmless opinions as "most damnable and detestable heresies;" to abjure them "from the bottom of their heart, protesting that *they certainly believed the contrary*." Alas, humanity sickens at such an outrage on the prerogative of the Most High, and the rights of mankind!

From this period to the end of queen Elizabeth's reign, the whole body of the Puritans appear to have been treated with great severity, of which the Baptists certainly came in for their due share. Many of them quitted the kingdom, and those who remained in it were perpetually harassed and tormented by fine and imprisonment. In the county of Norfolk (Mr. Neal says Suffolk, see vol. 1. p. 312), an application was made to the justices of peace, in behalf of some of the Brownists who had been long and illegally imprisoned by the bishop of Norwich, entreating that their worships would be pleased to move that prelate in their favour. His lordship was so displeased with them for their interference in what he considered to be his own prerogative, that he drew up twelve articles of impeachment against the justices themselves, and caused them to be summoned before the queen and counsel to answer for their conduct. The particulars are given by Mr. Neal, vol. 1. p. 312; and we only refer to it here for the purpose of remarking, that in the supplication to the justices, the terms *Anabaptists* and *Brownists* are used as synonymous, and also that they were allowed no quarter in that district.

In the year 1589, when the reign of this queen drew towards a close, a treatise appeared against the Puritans from the pen of a clergyman of the name of Some, in which he undertook to shew the coincidence that existed between the Anabaptists and some of the leading men among the former. The sentiments which he charges the Baptists of that day with holding are, that the ministers of the gospel ought to be maintained by the voluntary contributions of the people; that the civil magistrate has no right to make and impose laws on the consciences of men; that the people ought to have the right of choosing their own ministers; that the

high commission court was an antichristian usurpation; that such as are qualified to preach, ought not to be hindered by the civil magistrate from doing so; that no forms of prayer should be imposed upon the church; that the baptisms administered in the church of Rome were invalid; and that a true constitution and discipline are essential to a true church. Such were the *heterodox* principles maintained by the Anabaptists of queen Elizabeth's times, according to the testimony of this learned doctor; principles well supported by the word of God, and which, therefore, every intelligent and consistent Baptist of the present day is proud to avow. The doctor touches also on their opinions of baptizing none but professed believers; that they hold the worship of God as conducted in the church of England to be in many respects defective; and brings up the rear of their crimes, by adding, that they count it blasphemy for any man to arrogate to himself the title of Doctor in Divinity, or as he explains it, to be called Rabbi; that is, lord and master of other men's faith! He acknowledges, that there were several Anabaptistical conventicles, both in the metropolis and other parts of the kingdom, in his day; a fact which we shall find abundantly confirmed in the following chapter.

CHAP. II.

HISTORY OF THE BAPTISTS DURING THE REIGNS OF JAMES I. AND CHARLES I. A. D. 1602—1650.

Hitherto we have been engaged rather in tracing out obscure notices of the Antipædobaptists, as of individuals scattered throughout the country, maintaining their discriminating sentiment, yet mingling with their Pædobaptist brethren in church-communion, than as forming a distinct body, or denomination contending for the divine authority of the baptismal institute, and its indispensable obligation as a term of communion: but we shall presently find them separating themselves to the law of their Lord, avowing their convictions and advocating their principles through the medium of the press.

In the year 1608 there was a small piece published, by Enoch Clapham, representing, in a way of dialogue, the opinions of the different sects of Protestants at that period. He speaks of some of them as leaving the kingdom to form churches amongst people of another language: and others, who remained in England, he censures for withdrawing from the national worship, and assembling in woods, stables, and barns, for religious service. He particularly distinguishes from Puritans and Brownists, on the one hand, and from Arians and Socinians, on the other, those whom by way of reproach were called Anabaptists;* and who separated both from the church and other dissenters. Whatever may be thought concerning the truth and justness of their views on the question relative to baptism, their great seriousness of spirit and diligence in inquiry, must be praised by all candid persons. They arose out of those who, being tired with the yoke of superstitious ceremonies, the traditions of men, and corrupt mixtures in the worship of God, resolved, by the grace of God, not to receive or practise any piece of positive worship which had not precept or example in his word. On this principle they pursued their researches, which they accompanied with fasting and prayer. When, after long search, and many debates, it appeared to them that infant baptism was a mere innovation, and even a profanation of a divine ordinance, they were not brought to lay it aside without many fears and tremblings, lest they should be mistaken, considering how many learned and godly men were of an opposite persuasion; and gladly would they have had the concurrence of their brethren with them. But since there was no hope of this, they concluded that a Christian's

* In the dialogue of Enoch Clapham, above mentioned, the Anabaptist is asked, what religion he is of, and is made to answer, "Of the true religion, commonly termed Anabaptism, from our baptizing." When he is interrogated concerning the church or congregation he was connected with in Holland, he answers, "There be certain English people of us that came out from the Brownists." When the Arian says, "I am of the mind that there is no true baptism upon earth," he replies, "I pray thee, say not so; the congregation I am of, can and doth administer true baptism." When an inquirer after truth offers, on his proving what he has said, to leave his old religion, the Anabaptist answers, "You should say, if God will give you grace to leave it; for it is a particular favour to leave Sodom and Egypt, spiritually so called." When the same person offers to unite with them, the Anabaptist replies, "The dew of heaven come upon you: to-morrow I will bring you into our sacred congregation, that so you may come to be informed of the faith, and after that be purely baptized." This representation of the Baptists in the year 1608, though furnished by one who wrote against them, deserves regard, especially as he assures his readers that the characters which he has drawn of each sect had not been done without several years' experience and study of them. Ivimey's English Baptists, vol. 1. p. 122.

faith must not stand in the wisdom of man, and that every one must give account of himself to God; so they resolved to practise according to their own convictions. They were persuaded, that believers were the only proper subjects of baptism, and that immersion, or dipping the whole body into water, was the appointed rite. But as this was not practised in England, they were at a loss for an administrator to begin the practice. After often meeting together to pray, and confer about this matter, they agreed to send over into Holland Mr. Richard Blount, who understood the Dutch language, to a Baptist church there: he was kindly received by the society and their pastor; and upon his return he baptized Mr. Samuel Blacklock, a minister; these two baptized the rest of the company, to the number of fifty-three. Some few others of this persuasion were among the original planters of New-England. They who continued in England, published, in the year 1615, a small treatise to justify their separation from the church of England; and to prove that every man has a right to judge for himself in matters of religion; and that to persecute any one on this account, is illegal and antichristian, contrary to the laws of God, as well as several declarations of his majesty.

The title of this pamphlet is as follows: "Persecution for religion judged and condemned: in a discourse between a Christian and Antichristian: proving, by the law of God, and by king James's many declarations, that no man ought to be persecuted for his religion, so he testify his allegiance by the oath appointed by law." The style of this work is easy, correct, and, considering the age when it was composed, very perspicuous: the reasoning strong and conclusive; and the dialogue well maintained. It presents a favourable specimen of the principles and abilities of the authors. They inveigh against the pride, luxury, and oppression, of the bishops; declare their respect for magistrates; protest against the political errors of the Papists; condemn those who through fear comply with any external worship contrary to their own conscience; and refer, for evidence of their sentiments, to the confession of faith published in 1611.

But the principal glory of this piece, is the manly and explicit avowal which the authors make of the true principles of Christian liberty, at a time when they were either

unknown or opposed, by almost every other party. They preserve a just distinction between civil and religious concerns; and while they fully allow the magistrate his proper authority in the former, they boldly maintain every man's right to judge and act for himself in the latter. In a dedication to all that truly wish Jerusalem's prosperity, and Babylon's destruction, they declare, 'We do unfeignedly acknowledge the authority of earthly magistrates, God's blessed ordinance, and that all earthly rule and command appertain unto them: let them command what they will, we must obey, either to do or to suffer. But all men must let God alone with his right, who is to be Lord and Lawgiver of the soul; and not command obedience for God when he commandeth none.' 'If I take (says Christian, in another place) any authority from the king's majesty, let me be judged worthy of my desert; but, if I defend the authority of Christ Jesus over men's souls, which appertaineth to no mortal man whatsoever, then know you, that whosoever would rob him of that honour which is not of this world, he will tread them under foot.—Earthly authority belongs to earthly kings; but spiritual authority belongeth to that spiritual King, who is King of kings.'*—When we consider the state of the times, this intrepid and dignified language must excite our just admiration.

In the year 1618, another vindication of their principles came from the press, entitled, "A plain and well-grounded treatise concerning baptism." It was a translation from a Dutch piece, and is thought to be the first that was published in English against the baptism of infants. But the vindication of their principles procured them no security against the power of persecution. They were inveighed against from the pulpits, and harassed in the spiritual courts. Their goods were seized, and their persons confined by long and lingering imprisonments, under which many of them died, leaving widows and children. This drew from them, in 1620, during the sitting of parliament, an humble supplication to king James, representing their miseries, avowing their loyal and blameless behaviour, and remonstrating against the cruel proceedings under which they suffered, as unbecoming the charity and goodness of the Christian religion, tempting men to hypocrisy, and ex-

* Persecution judged and condemned. Passim.

hibiting the marks of antichrist, and humbly beseeching his majesty, the nobles, and parliament, to consider their case, and according to the direction of God's word, to let the wheat and tares grow together till the harvest. Notwithstanding the odium cast upon them, and the severities used against them, they maintained their separate meetings, had many disciples, and supported an exemplary purity of character.*

Mr. Neal states that, in the year 1644, there were forty-seven congregations of this denomination in the country, and seven in London. It cannot be doubted, that they gradually rose into such a number. Mr. Crosby says, that the Baptists, who had hitherto been intermixed with other Nonconformists, began to form themselves into separate societies in 1633. The first instance of this secession was that of part of the Independent congregation, then under the ministry of Mr. John Lathorp, which had been gathered in 1616, and of which Mr. Henry Jacob was the first pastor. The minister of these separatists was Mr. John Spilsbury; their number is uncertain, because, after specifying the number of about twenty men and women, it is added—with divers others. In the year 1638, Mr. William Kiffin, Mr. Thomas Wilson, and others, adopted the same opinions concerning baptism; and having been, at their own request, dismissed from the Independent church, joined the new congregation. Mr. Neal is mistaken, when he represents this separation as taking place under Mr. Jessey; who did not settle with it as a pastor till about Midsummer 1637: and did not change his sentiments on the questions concerning baptism till the summer of 1645, when he was baptized by Mr. Knowles. The division of the people into two congregations, one continuing with him, and the other joining themselves to Mr. Praise-God Barebones, on the 18th of May 1640, arose not from any difference of sentiment about baptism, but from their becoming so numerous, that they could not meet together in one place without being discovered.†

In 1639 another congregation of Baptists was formed, which met in Crutched-friars; the chief promoters of which were, Mr. Green, Mr. Paul Hobson, and captain Spencer.

* See Crosby's History of the English Baptists, vol. 1. p. 33—139.
† Jessey's Life, p. 7. 11. 83.

A pamphlet appeared at this time, under the title of "New preachers, new;" designed to hold up to scorn and contempt, the leading members of this church. Among other foolish things, it is remarked, that "Green the felt-maker (that is, a *hatter*), Spencer the horse-rubber, Quartermine the brewer's clerk, and some few others, were mighty sticklers in this new kind of talking trade, which many ignorant coxcombs call preaching." Green appears to have been a very zealous man, and to have excited no inconsiderable attention by his preaching. In the pamphlet above mentioned, some account is given of "a tumult raised in Fleet-street, by the disorderly preachment, pratings, and prattlings, of Mr. Barebones the leather-seller, and Mr. Green the felt-maker, on Sunday last the 19th of December (1641). Barebones is called *a reverend unlearned leather-seller*, memorable for his fiery zeal, and both he and his friend Green were apprehended while "preaching or prating amongst a hundred persons," on that day. The following extract from this pamphlet is too good to be lost.

"After my commendations, Mr. Rawbones (Barebones I should have said), in acknowledgment of your too much troubling yourself, and molesting others, I have made bold to relate your last Sunday's afternoon work, lest in time your meritorious pains-taking should be forgotten; (for the which, you and your associate, Mr. Green, *do well deserve to have your heads in the custody of young Gregory, to make buttons for hempen loops!*) you two having the Spirit so full, that you must either rent or burst, did on the Sabbath aforesaid, at your house near Fetter-lane, and in Fleet-street, at the sign of the Lock and Key, there and then, did you and your consort, by turns, unlock most delicate strange doctrine, where was *about thousands of people*, of which number the most ignorant applauded your preaching, and those that understood any thing derided your ignorant prating. But after four hours long and tedious tattling, the house where you were, was beleaguered with multitudes that thought it fit to rouse you out of your blind devotion, so that your walls were battered, your windows all fractions, torn into tattling shivers; and worse the hurly-burly might have been, but that sundry constables came in, with strong guards of men to keep the peace, in which conflict your sign was beaten down and unhinged, to

make room for the owner to supply the place—all which shows had never been, had Mr. Green and Mr. Barebones been content, as they should have done, to have gone to their own parish-churches." The same writer, addressing Green, asks, "Do not these things come from proud spirits, that, Mr. Spencer a horse-keeper, and you a hat-maker, will take upon you to be ambassadors of God, to teach your teachers, and take upon you to be ministers of the gospel in these days of light. Consider, I pray you, that our Lord would not have had the ass, Matt. xxi. 3, if he had not stood in need of him. Now the truth is, the church hath no need of such as you, an unlearned self-conceited hat-maker. It is true, that in the beginning of queen Elizabeth's reign, the Papist priests and friars being dismissed, there was a scarcity for the present of learned men, and so some tradesmen were permitted to leave their trades, and betake themselves to the ministry; but it was necessity that did then constrain them so to do; but thanks be to God, we have now no such necessity, and therefore this practice of you and your comrades casts an ill aspersion upon our good God, that doth furnish our church plentifully with learned men; and it doth also scandalize our church, as if we stood in need of such as you to preach the gospel. This you call preaching, or prophesying; and thus, as one of them told the lords of parliament, that they were all preachers, for so they practise and exercise themselves, as young players do in private, till they be by their brethren judged fit for the pulpit, and then up they go, and, like mountebanks, play their part. Mr. Green, Mr. Green, leave off these ways: bring home such as you have caused to stray. It is such as you that vent their venom against our godly preachers, and the divine forms of prayer, yea, against all set forms of prayers; all is from antichrist, but that which you preach is most divine: *that* comes from the Spirit, the other is an old dead sacrifice, composed (I should have said, killed) so long ago that it now stinks. It is so that in the year 1549, it was compiled by Dr. Cranmer, Dr. Goodricke, Dr. Skip, Dr. Thirlby, Dr. Day, Dr. Holbecke, Dr. Ridley, Dr. Cox, Dr. Taylor, Dr. Harris, Dr. Redman, and Mr. Robinson, archdeacon of Leicester; but what are all these? they are not to be compared to John Green a hat-maker, for he thinketh what he blustereth forth upon the sudden, is far

better than that which these did maturely and deliberately compose."

This extract is interesting on various accounts: the pamphlet from which it is taken is evidently the production of one of those *clerical* bigots of the establishment, of whom abundance are to be found in every age, since national establishments of Christianity were introduced;—a privileged order of men, who having found out the means of making their profession of religion subservient to their worldly interest, take it mightily amiss that any persons should presume to disturb them in their slumbers, or caution their fellow-creatures against being deceived by them. Hence all their cant and whining about "learned and godly ministers," as though any body complained of either their *learning* or *their* godliness; or as though their having been *licensed* by their fellow-creatures to officiate in parish-churches, were a substantial reason why another, who obtains his livelihood by honest industry, should not raise his voice in defence of the despised truth of the gospel, hold forth the word of life, and contend for the laws and institutions of Christ, against all who would corrupt them by human traditions. It is interesting too, as furnishing a pretty correct idea of the manner in which the earliest Baptist churches in this country conducted their public worship. Taking the New Testament for their guide, they seem evidently to have discarded "the one-man system," as it has been significantly termed, and which obtains so universally in our day. We may also learn from it, the opposition which the Baptists of that day had to sustain, in yielding obedience to the will of their God and Saviour.

But there are accounts of some societies existing in the country, long before these congregations in London were formed. There is great reason to believe that the Baptist society at Shrewsbury has subsisted, through all the revolutions of time to this day, from the year 1627.* The congregation at Bickenhall, now at Hatch, six miles from Taunton, in Somerset, had, according to the opinion of its oldest members about twenty years ago, subsisted near two hundred years; and they had a clear tradition of its assemblies having been held, so early as 1630, in the woods and other places of

* A Letter from the Rev. Josiah Thompson to the Editor.

concealments, on account of the severity of the times.* Even in 1457, there was a congregation of this sort at Chesterton, near Cambridge: six of them were accused of heresy, and condemned to abjure and do penance, half naked, with a fagot to their backs and a taper in their hands, in the public market-places of Ely and Cambridge.†

But, notwithstanding this early appearance of the sect, it laboured under such difficulties, from the odium with which it was regarded by the people, and from the severities practised against it by the ruling powers, that its progress was for many years impeded. From what bishop Jewel says, in the "Defence of his Apology," written about the seventh year of queen Elizabeth, it appears that it was then almost totally suppressed in these kingdoms: for while he speaks of them as finding harbour in Austria, Silesia, and Moravia, he adds, "they have no acquaintance with us in England, or any other place, where the gospel of Christ is clearly preached." This is to be concluded also from a passage in Dr. Featley, who says, "this fire in the reigns of queen Elizabeth, king James, and our gracious sovereign, till now, was covered in England under the ashes: or if it broke out at any time, by the care of the ecclesiastical or civil magistrate it was soon put out."

But in the times of the civil war, so difficult or so impossible is it to extirpate opinions, this sect revived; held its weekly assemblies for religious worship; and printed various pieces in defence of their sentiments and practice: the number of converts to it rapidly increased, and it boasted in that prophecy, "that many shall run to and fro, and knowledge shall be increased."‡

Amongst the publications in their own vindication was a piece, in 1641, by Edward Barber, entitled, "A Treatise of Baptism, or Dipping; wherein is clearly shewed, that our Lord Christ ordained dipping: and that sprinkling of children is not according to Christ's institution; and also the invalidity of those arguments that are commonly brought to justify that practice." In the same year appeared a quarto pamphlet of six pages, relating chiefly if not wholly to the

* MS. Collections concerning the History of Protestant Dissenters, communicated by Mr. Thompson.

† Robinson's Claude, vol. 2. Dissertation on Preaching, p. 54.

‡ Crosby, vol. 1. p. 160, 161; Wall's History of Infant-Baptism, vol. 2. p. 212—214.

Baptists. It is entitled, "The Brownists' Synagogue: or a late discovery of their conventicles, assemblies, and places of meeting, where they preach, and the manner of their praying and preaching; with a relation of the names, places, and doctrines, of those which do commonly preach. The chief of which are these: Green, the felt-maker; Marler, the button-maker; Spencer, the coachman; Rogers, the glover; *which sect is much increased of late within this city.*" In this squib, Messrs. Green and Spencer, who were over the Baptist church in Crutched Friars, are termed "the two arch separatists, demi-gods, who are here and there and every where." In the conclusion of the piece, the writer gives the following account of their meeting. "In the house where they meet, one is appointed to keep the door, and to give notice, if there should be any insurrection, that warning may be given them. They do not flock together, but come two or three in a company, and all being gathered together, the man appointed to teach stands in the midst of the room, and his audience gather about him. He then prays for the space of about half an hour, and part of his prayer is, that those who come thither to scoff and laugh, God would be pleased to turn their hearts. His sermon is about the space of an hour, and then another stands up to make the text more plain; and at the latter end he entreats them all to go home severally, lest at their next meeting they should be interrupted by those who are of the opinion of the wicked. They seem very steadfast in their opinions, and say, "rather than turn, they will burn."

In the next year came out another treatise, written by A. R. called, "The Vanity of Children's Baptism." Mr. Francis Cornwell, M. A. published, in 1643, a small tract, dedicated to the house of commons, with this title: "The Vindication of the Royal Commission of Jesus." It was given to divers members at the door of the house, which caused it to make a great noise, and be much circulated. Its design was to shew, that the practice of christening children opposes the commission granted by our Lord and Saviour; that it was a Romish or antichristian custom; and was established by pope Innocent III. who made a decree, that the baptism of the infants of believers should succeed circumcision. This piece gave great offence. Dr. Featley made several remarks upon it; and a piece called

"A Declaration against Anabaptists" was published in answer to it.* As they were frequently inveighed against, not only on account of their peculiar sentiments concerning the subjects and mode of baptism, but were also loaded with all the opprobrium which fell on the opinions deemed heretical, and were often reproached, both from the pulpit and the press, with being Pelagians, Socinians, Arminians, Soul-Sleepers, and the like, they published, in 1643, a "Confession of their Faith," mentioned and quoted by Mr. Neal, to vindicate themselves from these reflections, and to shew their general agreement with other Protestants in all points except that of baptism. It was the first that was ever published by the English Baptists, and extends to fifty-two articles, which we shall give in the Appendix, No. XI. It passed through several editions in 1644, and 1646, one of which was licensed by authority, dedicated to the high court of parliament, and put into the hands of several members. Their greatest adversaries, and amongst them Dr. Featley and Mr. Marshall, one of the assembly of divines, acknowledged, that it was an orthodox confession.†

This confession must be understood as expressing the sentiments of those Baptists only who joined in it, and not as applying to all who differed from other Christians on the questions concerning baptism. For, from the beginning of the reformation, there was a difference between the Baptists themselves on doctrinal points: and they divided, particularly, into two parties; one embracing the Calvinistic scheme of doctrines, and from the particular point therein, viz. personal election, called particular Baptists; the others, professing the Arminian or remonstrant tenets, from their leading principle, viz. universal redemption, were styled general Baptists.

It is remarkable, that some eminent men, who did not join their communion, were strongly in favour of their sentiments. The right honourable lord Robert Brook published about this time *A Treatise on Episcopacy*, in which he says, "I must confess that I begin to think there may be perhaps something more of God in these sects, which they call new schisms, than appears at first glimpse. I will not, I cannot, take upon me to defend that which men *generally*

* Crosby, vol. 1. p. 151, 152, and 345. † Ibid. vol. 1. p. 170, 171.

call Anabaptism: yet I conceive that sect is twofold: some of them hold free-will, community of goods, deny magistracy, and refuse to baptize their children; these truly are such heretics, or Atheists, that I question whether any divine should honour them so much as to dispute with them. There is another sort of them who only deny baptism to their children till they come to years of discretion, and then they baptize them." He censured the applying to this people the opprobrious name of schismatics; and gave it as his judgment, that it was very easy for those who held that we should go no farther than the Scriptures for doctrine or discipline, to err on this point, since the Scriptures seem not to have clearly determined it. He went even so far as to call in question the accuracy and conclusiveness of the argument urged against them from circumcision, which he looked upon as a fine rational argument to illustrate a point well proved before; but he doubted whether it was proof enough for that which some would prove by it; because, besides the difference in the ordinances, the persons to be circumcised were stated by a positive law, so expressly as to leave no room for scruple: "but it was otherwise with baptism, where all the designation of persons fit to be partakers, for aught I know," said his lordship, "is only such as believe: for this is the qualification which, with exactest search, I find the Scriptures require in persons to be baptized: and this it seems to require in all such persons. Now, how infants can properly be said to believe, I am not yet fully resolved." Having mentioned this nobleman, we cannot deny ourselves the pleasure of here introducing some remarks on his character from the writings of one of his contemporaries, namely, the great Milton, who in his "Speech for the liberty of unlicensed Printing," addressed to the parliament of England [1645], thus proceeds:

"What would be the best advised then, if it be found so hurtful, and so unequal to suppress opinions for their newness or their unsuitableness to a customary acceptance, will not be my task to say. I shall only repeat what I have learned from one of your own honourable members, a right noble and pious lord, who, had he not sacrificed his life and fortunes to the church and commonwealth, we had not now missed and bewailed a worthy and undoubted

patron of this argument. Ye know him, I am sure: yet I, for honour's sake, and may it be eternal to him, shall name him, the LORD BROOK. He, writing of episcopacy, and by the way treating of sects and schisms, left ye his vote, or rather now the last words of his dying charge, which I know will ever be of dear and honoured regard with you, so full of meekness and breathing charity, that next to *his* last testament who bequeathed love and peace to his disciples, I cannot call to mind where I have read or heard words more mild or peaceful. He there exhorts us to bear with patience and humility those, however they be miscalled, that desire to live purely, in such a use of God's ordinances as the best guidance of their consciences gives them, and to tolerate them, though in some disconformity to ourselves. The book itself will tell us more at large, being published to the world, and dedicated to the parliament by him, who both for his life and for his death deserves, that what advice he left be not laid by without perusal."* Such praise from such a writer as Milton, who would not be proud of? Granger informs us that lord Brook, who was a zealous patriot and an avowed advocate for liberty, on account of the arbitrary measures of CHARLES I. had determined to seek freedom in America, and had agreed with lord Say to transport themselves to New England, but upon the meeting of the long-parliament, and the sudden charge of public affairs, they were prevented from taking the voyage. He was afterward commander of the parliament army, and lost his life at Litchfield, in storming a close, to which lord Chesterfield had retired with a body of the king's troops. He received a musket shot in the eye, of which he instantly expired, in the year 1643.

A divine also, of great fame in that age, Mr. Daniel Rogers, candidly declared, in a book on the sacrament, that he was unconvinced by any determination of Scripture for infant-baptism. The learned and eminent Dr. Jeremiah Taylor, bishop of Down and Connor, published, in 1647, his treatise on "The Liberty of Prophesying;"† in which he stated the opinion of the Antipædobaptists with such

* Milton's Prose Works, by Burnett vol. 1. p. 320.

† This part of his treatise was reprinted in a detached form under the title of "Thoughts upon Infant Baptism," by the late Rev. and learned Dr. Jeremy Taylor, for Ward, in 1754, and it has lately been reprinted under the title of "THE BAPTISTS JUSTIFIED, &c." 12mo. published by Gale and Fenner, Paternoster-row.

advantages of style and elaborate chain of argument, that he was thought to have said more for the Baptists than they were able to offer for themselves. The design of this excellent prelate, in exhibiting the weight of the arguments they could allege, and the great probability of truth on their side, was to abate the fury of their adversaries; and to shew that they were, if in an error, still entitled to candour and indulgence.*

But neither their own vindications, nor the pleas of so generous an advocate, could screen them from that spirit of intolerance which actuated the predominant parties of those times. One of the seventeen canons, which were passed by the convocation of 1640, viz. the fifth canon, particularly decreed, that another canon, which was directed against the Papists, should be in full force against all Anabaptists.† In the following years they were inveighed against from the press and the pulpit. Dr. Featley owned, that in writing against them he could hardly dip his pen in any thing but gall. The severe ordinances of the day were aimed at them as well as the other sectaries. Edwards, in his "Gangræna," proposed a public disputation with them, and that on their being found in an error, the parliament would forbid all dipping, and take some severe course with all dippers, as the senate of Zurich did. In this he referred to an edict, published at Zurich in 1530, which made it death for any to baptize by immersion.‡ On this law some, called Anabaptists, were tied back to back, and thrown into the sea: others were burnt alive, and many starved to death in prison.§ But this was not the wish of Edwards alone. There was a general cry against toleration, especially of these people. In the petition of the lord-mayor, court of aldermen and common council, in 1646, that a speedy course might be taken to suppress all private and separate congregations, the Anabaptists were by name specified.‖

Sentiments against the rights of conscience, advanced by writers of reputation, and sanctioned by public acts, must be supposed to be productive of sufferings to individuals. It is proper to enter into the detail of these, as Mr. Neal has been thought to pass them over too generally, or to have represented them too partially.

* Crosby, vol. 1. p. 165—169. † Mr. Neal, vol. 2. p. 301.
‡ Gangræna, part 3. p. 177. § Crosby, vol. 1. p. 183. ‖ Ibid. p. 184.

Amongst others who felt the rage of bigotry was Mr. Vavasor Powell. This eminent Cambro-briton was a native of Radnorshire, born in the year 1617, and descended from some of the best families in that county, as well as in those of Montgomery and Salop. Having received a liberal education in his native place, he was entered of Jesus-college, Oxford, where he made great proficiency in the learned languages. On leaving college he took orders in the established church about the year 1640, and at first officiated in Wales, as curate to his uncle Erasmus Powell. He had not been long, however, in that situation when he joined the Puritans, from a conviction that their principles and proceedings were more consonant to the Scriptures, than those on which the national establishment is founded. In the earlier part of life he was remarkably thoughtless and vain; a ringleader among the votaries of folly and dissipation, insomuch that he was called by his schoolfellows *dux omnium malorum*, "a ringleader in all manner of wickedness;" we must, however, except the vice of drunkenness, of which he had so strong an abhorrence, that he used to speak of it as an *unnatural* vice, from which even the beasts were free, and he wondered how any rational being could possibly be addicted to a practice that was so entirely destitute at once of true pleasure, profit, and honour.

Having given up his connexion with the established church, and cast his lot among the Puritans, he began to preach among his countrymen, in the character of an itinerant evangelist, and his zeal and fortitude were soon called into exercise by the rage of bigotry, and the severe persecutions to which he was exposed. He was often attacked and assaulted by violent men, and repeatedly exposed to the danger of his life by those who laid in wait, or bound themselves by oath, to kill him; or made an attempt on it. In 1640, he, and fifty or sixty of his hearers, when he was preaching in a house in Brecknockshire, were seized, about ten o'clock at night, by fifteen or sixteen men, under the pretence of a warrant from justice Williams, and secured in a church. The next morning they were conducted to the justice's house, who committed them to the hands of the constable. On the following day they were examined before that justice and two or three more, and six or seven clergymen: but, after much conference and many threats, were

at that time dismissed. After this Mr. Powell, preaching at Launger in Radnorshire in the field, because the house was not large enough to hold the auditory, was seized and committed by the high-sheriff, Mr. Hugh Lloyd. The constables, sixteen or seventeen, who were charged with the execution of the *mittimus*, except one, refused it. This man, taking Mr. Powell to his own house, and permitting him to lodge there that night, because the prison was at a great distance, was so affected with his devotions in the family, that he would proceed no farther; but absconded himself, leaving Mr. Powell in his house; who, to prevent damage to the man, bound himself with two sufficient sureties to appear at the next assizes at Radnorshire. Accordingly he delivered himself up at that season, and three bills of indictment were preferred against him. But, after the traverse, he was acquitted, and invited to dine with the judge; who desiring him to give thanks, one of them said, "It was the best grace he had ever heard in his life." But the high-sheriff was so offended at the lenity shewn to him, and the impressions made by his conduct and preaching, that on the commencement of the war he persecuted him out of the county.*

The public have lately been favoured with a copious memoir of Vavasor Powell, in the "WELSH NONCONFORMISTS' MEMORIAL," compiled by the late Mr. Richards of Lynn, in Norfolk, and edited by John Evans, LL. D. Mr. Richards has bestowed much industry in tracing out the history of this eminent Nonconformist, and rescuing his character from many false and malignant aspersions cast upon it by his adversaries. He seems to think that he embraced the sentiments of the Baptists, and was himself baptized towards the end of the year 1655, which must have been a dozen years after he had quitted the church of England. In proof of this he quotes a letter from Mr. Secretary Thurloe to Henry Cromwell, dated January 1, 1656, and preserved in Thurloe's State Papers, vol. 4 p. 373. "Among other things (says Thurloe) which are daily sent abroad for inflaming the people, your lordship will receive herewith a paper newly exhibited to the world, by VAVASOR POWELL, who is lately rebaptized, and *several*

* Crosby, vol. 1. p. 217—219; Vavasor Powell's Life, p. 125—127.

others of his party; whereupon I will make no observations, though many others do," &c.

It appears that previous to his embracing the sentiments of the Baptists Mr. Powell was in high estimation with the Presbyterian party. The situation of Wales, in regard to religion, was reported to the parliament as being most deplorable. The people were so destitute of the means of religious information, that they had neither Bibles nor catechisms. Their clergy were both ignorant and indolent, so that they had scarcely a sermon from one quarter of a year to another, nor was there any suitable provision made for the maintenance of such as were capable of instructing them. The parliament took their case into consideration and passed an act, February 22, 1649, " for the better propagating and preaching of the gospel in Wales," and commissioners were appointed for carrying it into effect. Mr. Vavasor Powell was at the head of these commissioners, and exerted himself most indefatigably in this office, the beneficial effects of which soon became apparent. Whitelocke, speaking of the year 1652, says, " By this time there were a hundred and fifty good preachers in the thirteen Welsh counties, most of whom preached three or four times a week: they were placed in every market town; and in most great towns two schoolmasters, able, learned, and university men," &c.*

Soon after the passing of this act, Mr. Powell, who had for several years taken up his residence in the neighbourhood of London, returned to Wales, where he continued some years diligently exerting himself in promoting the objects of it, and especially in preaching the gospel throughout the country. There was scarcely a neighbourhood, a parish, or a village, in the county, which was not visited by him, and that did not hear from his mouth the cheering invitations of the gospel. Even to this day places are pointed out, in the most obscure and unfrequented parts of the principality, where Vavasor Powell is said to have preached to numerous congregations. In these excursions he was often accompanied by other ministers of the same active turn and fervent spirit with himself: and their labours were eminently successful. Even as early as the year 1654,

* Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 518.

the Christians in Wales connected with Vavasor Powell, were calculated to amount to no less than twenty thousand.*

It is said that Mr. Powell was much in favour with the protector, Cromwell, at one period of his life; but when the latter had assumed the supreme power, he openly opposed his elevation, and thereby lost his favour. From that moment he appears to have been continually the object of mistrust, and consequently became closely watched. All his movements were scrutinized narrowly, and as every thing is yellow to the jaundiced eye, the basest motives were imputed to every part of his conduct. One while Powell was said to be preparing for war; busily engaged in enlisting troops; at another he was actually up in arms at the head of a troop of horse ready to fight it out! Even his labours in preaching the gospel, and the great concourse of people that attended him, were looked upon with an evil eye, and generally represented in a very unfavourable and suspicious light; and he often felt the effects of them in the persecutions which he was called to endure. But though these suspicions and evil surmises must have proved very painful to him, and detrimental to his labours in the propagation of the gospel, yet it does not appear that they damped his courage, or cooled his zeal, or slackened his diligence in the prosecution of his important undertaking. He steadily persevered in the work of the Lord, till the new order of things under Charles II. deprived him of his liberty, and compelled him to desist.

Vavasor Powell was among the first victims to the tyrannical measures of Charles II. No sooner was the restoration resolved on, than the busy agents of government marked him out for their prey. They had even formed their plan and executed it before the king's arrival; such was their *breathless* haste to ruin this worthy man. On the 28th of April 1660, he was seized in his own house by a party of soldiers, and conducted to the county jail; from thence he was removed to Shrewsbury, where he remained a prisoner nine weeks, but was then discharged. Returning into Montgomeryshire, he began to preach as usual, when the sheriff of the county lodged a complaint against him with Mr. Secretary Morrice, charging him with sedition, rebellion, and treason; and before any return could be re-

* See Thurloe's State Papers, vol. 3.

ceived from the government, the sheriff issued a warrant to apprehend him, which was accordingly done, having enjoyed his liberty only twenty-four days. Soon after, he was removed, by a warrant from the secretary of state, to London, and committed to the Fleet prison, where he lay two years, so closely confined, that he was not allowed to go out of his chamber-door, which, added to the offensive effluvia of a dung-hill that lay before his window, so much impaired his health that he never perfectly recovered it. During this period, he wrote "A brief narrative of the former propagation and late restoration of the gospel in Wales;" of which a second edition was published in 1662. In this piece he challenged his adversaries to substantiate the least of their calumnious charges against him. But in vain did he justify his character; innocence could procure him no redress. Having lain in the Fleet nearly two years, he was removed at an hour's notice, on the 30th of September 1662, to South-sea-castle, near Portsmouth, where he remained a close prisoner for five years longer. On the fall of lord Clarendon, Mr. Powell sued for a habeas corpus, and soon after, by an order from the king in council, obtained his liberty.

But, scarcely had ten months elapsed, before Mr. Powell was again apprehended, as he was passing from Bristol to Monmouthshire, over the hills of Glamorgan, in his way to his own residence, and committed to prison. He had preached at different stations, as he came along, to large congregations; and the people eagerly flocked to hear him from all parts. He had preached at Newport, in Monmouthshire, and from thence proceeded to Merthyr Tidval, in Glamorganshire, a place now become famous for its iron works, the most celebrated and extensive in Britain, as well as for the number of its inhabitants, having in a few years, from an inconsiderable village, become the most populous place in all the principality of Wales. When Mr. Powell arrived at Merthyr, he found assembled in and about the churchyard, a large congregation waiting to hear the word of God. He discoursed to them from Jer. xvii. 7, 8. For this act of mercy the clergymen of the parish deposed against him, in consequence of which he was seized and lodged in his mamajesty's jail of Cardiff; from thence he was, some time afterward, cited before six deputy-lieutenants at Cowbridge,

where he underwent a long examination, after which he was remanded to prison and recommitted. His friends in London now interested themselves in his behalf, and procured a writ of habeas corpus to remove him to the court of common pleas, which was for some time resisted, but at length they succeeded, and on the 16th of October 1669 he arrived in London, where, after an examination, he was committed once more to the Fleet. Here he remained till discharged by death, on the 27th of October 1670, in the fifty-third year of his age, *eleven years of which he had passed in prison!* He was a person of the strictest integrity, the most fervent piety, and the most intrepid courage. He bore his illness with great fortitude and resignation to the will of God, and in the highest paroxysms of his disorder, could with difficulty be restrained from breaking out into acts of devotion, and expressing his sentiments of zeal and piety. His remains were interred in Bunhill-fields, whither they were followed by an innumerable crowd of the dissenters who attended him to his grave. The inscription on his tombstone, which was drawn up by his friend Edward Bradshaw, describes him as "a successful teacher of the past, a sincere witness of the present, and a useful example of the future age; who, in the defection of many, found mercy to be faithful: for which being called to many prisons, he was tried and would not accept deliverance, expecting a better resurrection."* But to return;

In 1641 Mr. Edward Barber, minister to a small congregation of Baptists in London, was kept eleven months in prison for denying the baptism of infants, and that to pay tithes to the clergy was a divine ordinance under the gospel.

In 1643 some pious persons at Coventry, who had embraced the opinion of antipædobaptism, invited Mr. Benjamin Cox, an aged minister of good reputation for learning and piety, the son of a bishop, and sometime minister at Bedford, to come to them and assist them in forming themselves into a distinct church. Several Presbyterian ministers, amongst whom was Mr. Baxter, had taken refuge in that city: who being alarmed at the spread of baptistical sentiments, Mr. Baxter challenged Mr. Cox to dispute with him

* Richards's Cambro British Biography, p. 141—186. Dr. Toulmin, in a note respecting Vavasor Powell, says, "his sentiments were those of a *Sabbatarian* Baptist;" but Mr. Richards assures us there is no foundation for considering him a Sabbatarian.

about the points in difference between them. This was done *vivâ voce* and by writing; but it was broken off by the interference of the committee, who required Mr. Cox to depart from the city, and to promise not to return to it. As he refused this, he was immediately committed to prison, and remained there for some time; till, in consequence of Mr. Pinson's application to Mr. Baxter, his release was procured.*

Another sufferer on this side was Mr. Henry Denne, who had been ordained by the bishop of St. David's, and held the living of Pyrton in Hertfordshire for ten years. In 1644 he was apprehended in Cambridgeshire by the committee of that county, and sent to jail, for preaching against infant-baptism, and baptizing those who had received no other. After he had been confined some time, his case, through the intercession of some friends, was referred to a committee of parliament, and he was sent up to London, and detained in the lord Petre's house, in Aldersgate-street, till the committee had heard his cause and released him. In June 1646, he was apprehended a second time at Spalding in Lincolnshire. He was seized on a Lord's day, and kept in custody to prevent his preaching. Upon hearing the charge against him, which was for baptizing, as but one witness appeared to support it, and according to the maxim of law, *Nemo tenetur seipsum accusare*, he refused to be his own accuser. The ceremony had been performed in the night, which indicates the severity of the times against such as held his principles and acted upon them: just as the primitive Christians, under persecution, held their assemblies at that season.†

About the same time Mr. Coppe, a minister in Warwickshire, and preacher to the garrison in Compton-house in the said county, for rebaptizing, was committed to Coventry jail. On publishing the ordinance of parliament in 1645, against unordained ministers, the lord-mayor sent his officers, on a Sunday, to the Baptist meeting in Coleman-street, London, on an information that laymen preached there. The officers found the religious exercises conducted by Mr. Lamb, the elder of the church, and a young man who was a teacher amongst them. Some of the congregation, in-

* Crosby, p. 220, 221; and Baxter's Life, p. 46.

† Crosby, vol. 1. p. 221—224; where are the examinations taken on the occasion.

censed at the disturbance given to their worship, used rough language to them: but Mr. Lamb behaved respectfully, requested leave to finish the religious service, and engaged to appear before the lord-mayor at six o'clock. The officers acquiesced, and withdrew: and at the time appointed Mr. Lamb and his assistant met at his lordship's house. He was interrogated on what authority he presumed to preach, and was told that he had transgressed the ordinance of parliament. Mr. Lamb replied, "No: for that he was called and appointed to the office by as reformed a church as any in the world," alluding to the words of the ordinance. But he acknowledged, that he rejected the baptism of infants as invalid. After the examination, they were bound over to answer before the committee of the parliament, who, after hearing them, committed both to jail, where they lay till the intercession of friends procured their liberty.*

In the same year, Mr. Paul Hobson, a Baptist minister, was taken into custody by the governor of Newport-Pagnel, for preaching against infant-baptism, and reflecting on the order against the preaching of laymen. After a short confinement he was sent prisoner to London. He was soon cited before the committee, and having several friends of rank and influence, he was immediately discharged, and preached publicly at a meeting-house in Moorfields.†

The case of Mr. Hanserd Knollys runs into more particulars. He was a man of piety and learning, and had received ordination from the bishop of Peterborough, but was afterward a zealous opposer of episcopacy and the liturgy. Preaching one Lord's day, at the earnest and repeated request of the churchwardens, when they wanted a minister, in Bow-church, Cheapside, he was led by his subject to speak against the practice of infant-baptism. This gave great offence to some of the auditory; a complaint was lodged against him with the parliament; and by a warrant from the committee for plundered ministers, he was apprehended by the keeper of Ely-house, and kept several days in prison, bail being refused. At length he was brought to a hearing before the committee, when about thirty of the assembly of divines were present. The answers which he gave on his examination, about his authority to preach, the occasion of his appearing in the pulpit at Bow-church, and

* Crosby, vol. 1. p. 225, 226. † Edwards's Gangræna, vol. 1. p. 34, 37.

the doctrine he had there advanced, being satisfactory, he was discharged without blame, or paying fees; and the jailer was sharply reproved for refusing bail, and threatened to be turned out of his post.

Soon after this Mr. Knollys went into Suffolk, and preached in several places, as opportunity offered, at the request of friends. But as he was accounted an Antinomian and Anabaptist, his supposed errors were deemed as criminal as sedition and faction, and the virulence of the mob was instigated against him by the high-constable. At one time he was stoned out of the pulpit; at another time the doors of the church were shut against him and his hearers. Upon this he preached in the church-yard, which was considered as a crime too great to be connived at, or excused. At length he was taken into custody, and was first prosecuted at a petty sessions in the county, and then sent up a prisoner to London with articles of complaint against him to the parliament. On his examination he proved, by witnesses of reputation, that he had neither sowed sedition, nor raised a tumult, and that all the disorders which had happened were owing to the violence and malignity of his opposers, who had acted contrary both to law and common civility. He produced copies of the sermons he had preached, and afterward printed them. His answers were so satisfactory, that on the report made by the committee to the house, he was not only discharged, but a vote passed, that he might have liberty to preach in any part of Suffolk, when the minister of the place did not himself preach there. But, beside the trouble which this business occasioned to him, it devolved on him an expense of 60*l.*

Mr. Knollys, finding how much offence was taken at his preaching in the church, and to what troubles it exposed him, set up a separate meeting in Great St. Helens, London; where the people flocked to hear him, and he had generally a thousand auditors. Great umbrage was taken at this; the landlord was prevailed upon to warn him out of the place, and Mr. Knollys was summoned before a committee of divines, who used to sit in the room called the Queen's Court, Westminster, to answer for his conduct in this matter. The chairman asked, why he presumed to preach without holy orders? To which he replied, he was in holy orders. The chairman on this was informed, that he had renounced epis-

copal ordination: this Mr. Knollys confessed, but pleaded, that he was now ordained, in a church of God, according to the order of the gospel, and then explained the manner of ordination among the Baptists. At last he was commanded to preach no more: but he told them, that he would preach the gospel, both publicly and from house to house; saying, "It was more equal to obey Christ who commanded him, than those who forbade him:" and so went away. A letter, which Mr. Knollys wrote to Mr. Dutton, of Norwich, in which were some reflections on the persecuting measures of those times, and which coming into the hands of the Suffolk committee was sent up to London, and presently published by one of the chief promoters of persecution, is supposed to have inflamed the proceedings against him.* As it is short, I will give a copy of it below.† It was too common a practice, then, to seize and publish the letters of those who were called sectaries.

The unsettled state of the times in which Mr. Knollys's lot was cast, occasioned a great variation in his circumstances, and obliged him often to change his place of abode. Sometimes he was possessed of several hundred pounds, the fruits of his industry in teaching youth; at others, he had neither home to dwell in, nor food to eat, nor money to purchase it! And frequently was he hurried from place to place, by the evil of the times, and the malice of his persecutors. When the rage of his adversaries would no longer permit him to remain in Lincolnshire, he removed to London:—Here he opened a school upon Tower-hill, and took

* Crosby, vol. 1. p. 226—230; and a very short and partial account in Edwards's Gangræna, vol. 1. p. 39.

† "Beloved Brother,

"I salute you in the Lord. Your letter I received the last day of the week; and upon the first day I did salute the brethren in your name, who re-salute you, and pray for you. The city Presbyterians have sent a letter to the synod, dated from Sion-college, against any toleration; and they are fasting and praying at Sion-college this day, about farther contrivings against God's poor innocent ones; but God will doubtless answer them according to the idol of their own hearts. To-morrow there is a fast kept by both houses, and the synod at Westminster. They say it is to seek God about the establishing of worship according to their covenant. They have first vowed, now they make inquiry. God will certainly "take the crafty in their own snare, and make the wisdom of the wise foolishness;" for "he chooseth the foolish things of this world to confound the wise, and weak things to confound the mighty." My wife and family remember their love to you. Salute the brethren that are with you. Farewell.

"Your brother in the faith and fellowship of the gospel,

"HANSERD KNOLLYS.

"London, the 13th day of the 11th month called January, 1645."

a few young men under his care to finish their education and fit them for the work of the ministry. He was also chosen master of the Free school in St. Mary-Axe; but the oppressive hand of power compelled him to abandon this employment, and seek an asylum across the Atlantic. There he continued about five years, preaching the gospel and building up the churches that had lately been gathered in that wilderness. In 1641, he returned to his native country, at the pressing solicitation of his aged father. At this time Mr. Knollys was reduced to great straits in his worldly circumstances, but his friends were numerous, and often interposed with seasonable relief. The words of the apostle were, indeed, literally fulfilled in the experience of this good man, that "we have here no continuing city!" We can trace him from this country to America—and then back again: from England into Wales—from London to Holland, and from thence into Germany—then back to Rotterdam, and from the latter place to London once more. These wanderings about, too, were not the effects of choice, but of necessity. They tended, however, greatly to the exercise of his graces, and furnished him with numerous instances of the providential mercies of God towards him.

Shortly after the Restoration, in 1660, Mr. Knollys, with many other innocent persons, was dragged from his own dwelling house, and committed to Newgate, where he was kept in close custody for eighteen weeks, until released by an act of grace, on the king's coronation. At that time, four hundred persons were confined in the same prison, for refusing to take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy. A royal proclamation was issued at this time, prohibiting Anabaptists and other sectaries from worshipping God in public, except at their parish-church. This cruel edict was the signal for persecution, and the forerunner of those sanguinary laws which disgraced the reigns of the Stuarts; and to these must be attributed the frequent removals to which Mr. Knollys was compelled to have recourse. During his absence in Holland and Germany, his property was confiscated to the crown, and when the law did not sanction the act, a party of soldiers was dispatched to take forcible possession of his property. When the Conventicle-act passed in 1670, Mr. Knollys was apprehended at a place of worship in George-yard, and committed to prison. But here

he obtained favour of his jailer, who allowed him to preach to the prisoners twice a week during his confinement.

Mr. Knollys lived to the advanced age of ninety-three, and quitted the world in a transport of joy, 19th of September, 1691. He was buried in Bunhill-fields.*

Mr. John Sims, who preached at Southampton, was a sufferer among the Baptists during this period (1646). He was prevailed on, in a journey to Taunton, to preach in the parish-church of Middlesey. On this he was seized by virtue of the act against unordained ministers, and several letters, which he was to deliver to some pious friends, were taken from him. These with the examination were sent to London, by way of complaint against him, and printed. The charges specified in the examination were for preaching and denying infant-baptism. He admitted the latter, and pleaded against the former, that "as Peter was called, so was he."†

The next name on the list of sufferers is Mr. Andrew Wyke. On his examination he refused to answer to the questions concerning the doctrines he held, or his authority for preaching; alleging, that as a freeman of England he was not bound to answer to any interrogatories, either to accuse himself or others: but if they had aught against him, they should lay their charge, and produce their proofs. This conduct was looked upon as great obstinacy, and expressive of high contempt of authority; and he was therefore sent to jail, 3d of June 1646. The duration of his imprisonment is not known; but while he was under confinement a pamphlet, drawn up by himself or some friend, entitled "The Innocent in Prison complaining," being a narrative of the proceedings against him, was published: in which the committee and some members of it did not escape severe reflection.‡

The last person, whom I shall mention as suffering in this period, is Mr. Samuel Oates; whose name is brought forward by Mr. Neal, in a manner that has provoked, not wholly without reason, the severe censure of Mr. Crosby; for it leaves the reader to confound this Oates with Titus Oates,

* Crosby's Baptists, vol. 3. p. 93; and vol. 4. 295. Brooks's Puritans, vol. 3. p. 491.

† Crosby, vol. 1. p. 232, 233; and Edwards's Gangræna, vol. 2. p. 50, &c. where four of the letters are printed.

‡ Edwards, vol. 2. p. 169; Crosby, vol. 1. p. 235.

so noted in our historians with a brand of infamy upon him; and uninformed of the issue of the proceedings against him on the heavy charge of murder.

This Mr. Samuel Oates was a popular preacher, and great disputant. On a journey into Essex, in 1646, he preached in several parts of that country, and baptized by immersion a great number of people, especially about Bocking, Braintree, and Tarling. Amongst the hundreds he baptized, one died within a few weeks after, and her death was imputed to her being dipped in cold water. The magistrate was prevailed upon to apprehend Mr. Oates on this charge, and to send him to prison, and to put him in irons as a murderer, in order to his trial at the ensuing assizes. The name of the woman was Ann Martin, and the report spread against Mr. Oates was, that in the administration of baptism "he held her so long in the water, that she fell presently sick; that her belly swelled with the abundance of water she took in; that, within a fortnight or three weeks she died; and on her death-bed expressed this dipping to be the cause of her death." He was arraigned for his life at Chelmsford assizes. But on the trial, several credible witnesses, amongst them the mother of the deceased, deposed on oath, that "Ann Martin was in better health for several days after her baptism than she had been for some time before, and that she was seen to walk abroad afterward very comfortably." So that, notwithstanding all the design and malignity which discovered themselves in the trial he was brought in Not Guilty. But this verdict was not sufficient to disarm the rage of the populace against him. For a little time after, some who were known to have been baptized going, occasionally, to Wethersfield in Essex, on alarm being given that Mr. Oates and his companions were come, the mob arose and seized upon these innocent persons, dragged them to a pump, and treated them like the worst of villains: though Oates, against whom they were chiefly enraged, was not of the party. Not long after this the mob, without any provocation, but because he dared to come to the place, drew him out of a house at Dunmow, and threw him into a river, boasting that they had thoroughly dipped him.*

* Edwards's Gangræna, vol. 1. p. 121; and Crosby, vol. 1. p. 236—238, and p. 240. In the preceding detail the disturbance given to an assembly, at Deadman's

The preceding facts shew, that obloquy attached itself to the principles of the Baptists, and that they were marked out as objects for the virulence of the populace and the animadversion of the magistrate. Next to the Quakers, observes a late historian, "they were perhaps the most hated and persecuted sect."* But it should be owned, in mitigation of the conduct of their persecutors, that at least in some instances they inflamed the spirits of men against them, as Mr. Neal suggests, by their own imprudence and the impetuosity of their zeal. Much enthusiasm appears to have animated the profession of their opinions; and it was the fashion of the times for every party to advance its peculiar sentiments in coarse and irritating language; each assumed this licentiousness of speech, but none took it patiently from others. The Baptists incurred censure, and excited jealousy and resentment, by disturbing congregations and dispersing challenges to dispute with any minister or ministers on the questions relative to baptism. This was much according to the practice of the times. Mr. Baxter, we have seen, challenged Mr. Cox, and Dr. Gunning, afterward regius professor of divinity at Cambridge, and bishop of Ely, in the year 1656, went into the congregation of Mr. Biddle, and began a dispute with him. But while the members of the dominant parties did this uncensured, it was considered, and treated, as insolence in the minority to advance their opinions, even in their own assemblies only. When the public peace is broken, men are justly amenable to the civil magistrate: but for the breach of the peace merely, and not for the sentiments they may at the time avow. Violence, penalties, and imprisonment, on account of religious tenets, are, in no view, justifiable. Against error they are needless; for that, not being founded in reason and proof, will of itself die away: against truth

Place, January 18, 1640, mentioned by Fuller, is omitted; because he is mistaken in calling it an anabaptistical congregation; and the matter has been stated, before, by Mr. Neal, vol. 2. p. 342. But it may be added to what is there said, either in the text or the notes, concerning this congregation and its ministers, that Mr. Hubbard, or Herbert, its first pastor, was a learned man, and had received episcopal ordination; that in his time, the church accompanied him to Ireland, where he died; that it then returned to England; that Mr. Stephen Moore, its minister in 1640, who had been a deacon of it, was possessed of an estate, a man of good reputation, and endowed with a considerable share of ministerial abilities; and that it was severely persecuted by the clergy and the bishops' courts. Crosby, vol. 1. p. 163—165.

* Gough's History of the Quakers, vol. 1. p. 52, note.

they are ineffectual; for that will finally prevail, by its own weight and evidence, above all opposition. Every person, against whom they are directed, feels them to be in his own case iniquitous and cruel.

The only good effect which persecution hath ever produced, has been, opening the eyes of men to see the iniquity of it, and raising in their hearts an abhorrence of it. The severities of which the Baptists were the marked objects, led them to be advocates for liberty and toleration. So far back as the year 1615, Mr. Helwise and his church, at London, published a treatise, entitled "Persecution for religion judged and condemned;" the dedication to which was subscribed thus; "By Christ's unworthy witnesses, his majesty's faithful subjects, commonly, but falsely, called Anabaptists." In this piece they asserted, "that every man hath a right to judge for himself in matters of religion, and that to persecute any one on that account is illegal and antichristian."*

In a book called "The Bloody Tenet," printed in 1644, and in another entitled "The Compassionate Samaritan," they advanced this principle; "That it is the will and command of God, that since the coming of his Son, a permission of the most Paganish, Jewish, Turkish, or antichristian consciences and worships, be granted to all men in all nations; that the doctrine of persecution in case of conscience maintained by Calvin, Beza, Cotton, and the ministers of New-England, is guilty of all the blood of the souls, crying for vengeance under the altar." They besought the parliament "to allow public protection to private as well as public congregations; to review and repeal the laws against the separatists; to permit a freedom of the press to any man, who writes nothing scandalous or dangerous to the state; to prove themselves loving fathers to all good men, and so to invite equal assistance and affection from all." These opinions were in those times censured as most damnable doctrines, and the parliament was invoked, by the pen of Dr. Featley, utterly to exterminate and banish out of the kingdom the Baptists, because they avowed and published them.† But the good sense and liberality of more modern times will not only admit these principles as

* Crosby, vol. 1. p. 272.

† Robinson's Translation of Claude, vol. 1. p. 250, note.

maxims of good policy and sound Christianity, but respect the despised people who brought them forward and stated them, at a period when they were scarcely received by any others, and were held by the generality as most highly obnoxious: when even the great and good Mr. Baxter could declare, "I abhor unlimited liberty, or toleration of all."*

It remains to take notice of some of the more distinguished preachers among this denomination of Christians, who died in the period of which we are speaking.

Mr. Thomas Helwise, according to the order of time, seems to deserve the first mention: a man of good natural parts, and not without some acquired ones, though he had not the advantage of a learned education. He was a member of the ancient church of the separatists in the beginning of queen Elizabeth's reign, and accompanied them, when they transported themselves out of England into Holland to escape persecution. He was of great service to them, and esteemed a man of eminent faith, charity, and spiritual gifts. When Mr. Smith, whose history we have given before, raised the controversy about infant-baptism, Mr. Helwise became a convert to his sentiments, received baptism from him, and was one of the first in the constitution of his church, of which after his death he had the pastoral care. He and his people, soon after Mr. Smith's decease, published a confession of their faith, entitled "The Confession of Faith, published in certain conclusions, by the remainder of Mr. Smith's Company."† At the end of it there was an Appendix, giving some account of Mr. Smith's last sickness and death. Three years after, Mr. Robinson, the pastor of the English congregation of Brownists at Leyden, published remarks upon it. About the same time Mr. Helwise began to reflect upon his own conduct, and that of the other English dissenters, in leaving their friends and country to avoid persecution: whether it did not proceed from fear and cowardice; and whether they ought not to return to bear their testimony to the truth, and to countenance and encourage their suffering brethren? The result was, that he and his church quickly left Amsterdam, and removed to London, where they continued to preserve their church state, and to hold their assemblies for worship, as the times would permit. He wrote a piece in justifica-

* Plain Scripture Proof, p. 216. † See Crosby, vol. 2. Appendix, No. I.

tion of this conduct, entitled "A short Declaration:" wherein he stated in what cases it was lawful to fly in times of persecution: to which Mr. Robinson replied. The conduct of Mr. Helwise and his friends displeased the Nonconformists in exile, who censured it as vain-glorious, and imputed it to natural confidence under the appearance of religious fortitude. It is not known when Mr. Helwise died, but from the publications of the day, it appears that he went on with great courage and resolution; and the church, under all the severities they experienced from the civil powers, increased in numbers.*

Mr. John Morton, another of Mr. Smith's disciples, appears to have been a man of note and reputation, of considerable learning and abilities. He was conversant with the oriental languages and the writings of the fathers, and was a zealous remonstrant. After his return from Holland he settled in the country. These circumstances are inferred from a manuscript, written by J. Morton, supposed to be the same person; which was found at the beginning of the civil wars, on demolishing an old wall near Colchester. It was printed by the General Baptists, and passed through several impressions. Its title was "Truth's Champion." It discussed the questions concerning baptism, and the points disputed between the Arminians and Calvinists. The piece was written in a good style, and the argument managed with much art and skill; and, not without reason, held in considerable estimation by the remonstrants.†

A more particular and full account of some, whose names have been brought forward in the preceding narrative, will fall under the following periods of this history: the learning and abilities of whom, it will appear, did credit to the sect to which which they belonged. Mr. Neal has asserted, that "its advocates were for the most part of the meanest of the people; their preachers were generally illiterate, and went about the countries making proselytes of all that would submit to their immersion, without a due regard to their acquaintance with the principles of religion, or their moral character." It is to be regretted, that our respectable author, by this general representation, without producing any authority, or alleging attested facts to justify it, hath laid himself open to severe animadversion. Mr.

* See Crosby, vol. 1. p. 269—275. † Ibid. vol. 1. p. 276—278.

Crosby exclaims, "What a malicious slander is this, cast upon a whole body of Christians, consisting of fifty-four congregations, according to his own acknowledgments!"* It may be supposed that Mr. Neal has here paid too great a deference to such writers as the author of the "Gangræna;" and on the other hand, Mr. Crosby may have been too partial to his own sect, and not allowed for the operation of a precipitate and injudicious zeal, by which a new and persecuted sect is generally actuated; he may have forgotten, that a great number of its preachers would of course be unlearned and ignorant men, when the liberty of prophesying, as any individual was authorized and qualified by the gift or influence of the Holy Spirit, was a received principle; for such gift would, where it was supposed to exist and display itself, supersede acquired abilities and human literature.

CHAP. III.

HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE BAPTISTS DURING THE COMMONWEALTH. A. D. 1649—1658.

The protectorate of Cromwell, though restricted to the short space of ten years, was a most eventful period in the annals of ecclesiastical history. Both in our own country, and upon the continent of Europe, it will ever be memorable for the collision of parties, and the extraordinary incidents to which it gave birth. The sanguinary measures carried on, by the instigation of Louis XIV. against the Waldenses in the valleys of Piedmont; the dispersion of the Protestant churches in that long and highly favoured country, and the deep interest which Cromwell, as the head of the English government, aided by the pen of his Latin secretary, our immortal Milton, took in the melancholy fate of the meek confessors of Savoy, are events with which few of the dissenters of the present day are unacquainted. But Mr. Neal has already entered pretty fully into the general history of this period, and traced the contest be-

* Vol. 1. preface, p. 5.

tween the Episcopalians, the Presbyterians, and the Independents, which we shall not resume. Our object is merely, to supply a little additional information respecting a class of professors whom he appears to have overlooked or neglected as unworthy of his notice; and to do this, it may not be amiss to look back a little, and glance at the aspect which the laws of the country bear towards the Baptists in particular.

The great increase of the Baptists seems to have provoked the Presbyterians, who were now the ruling party, to a very high degree; and the same spirit of intolerance which the Episcopalians had manifested towards the Puritans, was now exhibited by them against all dissenters from what they, who could now prove the divine right of presbytery, were pleased to decree. The whole of their conduct, in respect of those who differed from them, shews what Milton said to be true; that "New Presbyter is but Old Priest writ large."

Their spirit of intolerance may be learned from the history of those times, and especially from some acts of the government. On May 26, 1645, the lord-mayor, court of aldermen, and common-council, presented a petition to parliament, commonly called "The City Remonstrance," in which they desired, "that some strict and speedy course might be taken for the suppressing all private and separate congregations; that all Anabaptists, Brownists, heretics, schismatics, blasphemers, and all other sectaries, who conformed not to the public discipline established or to be established by parliament, might be fully declared against, and some effectual course settled for proceeding against such persons; and that no person disaffected to presbyterial government, set forth or to be set forth by parliament, might be employed in any place of public trust."*

This remonstrance was supported by the whole Scotch nation, who acted in concert with their English brethren, as appears by a letter of thanks to the lord-mayor, aldermen, and common-council, from the general assembly, dated June 10, 1646, within a month after the delivery of the remonstrance. The letter commends their courageous appearance against sects and sectaries; their firm adherence to the covenant, and their maintaining the Presbyterian

* Crosby, vol. 1. p. 184.

government to be the government of Jesus Christ! It beseeches them to go on boldly in the work they had begun, till the three kingdoms were united in one faith and worship. At the same time they directed letters to the parliament, beseeching them also in the bowels of Jesus Christ to give to him the glory due to his name, by an immediate establishment of all his ordinances in their full integrity and power, according to the covenant. Nor did they forget to encourage the assembly at Westminster to proceed in their zeal against sectaries, and to stand boldly for the sceptre of Jesus Christ against the encroachments of earthly powers.

The arguments which this grave assembly used, to withhold from others the blessing of Christian liberty, came with a bad grace from men who had as earnestly pleaded for the privilege, while they were smarting under the lash of the prelates. "To comply with this request [of granting toleration], would open a gap for all sects to challenge such a liberty as their due: this liberty is denied by the churches in New-England, and we have as great right to deny it as they. This desired forbearance will make a perpetual division in the church, and be a perpetual drawing away from the churches under the rule. Upon the same pretence, those who scruple infant baptism may withdraw from their churches, and so separate into another congregation; and so in that some practice may be scrupled, and they separate again. Are these divisions and subdivisions as lawful as they are infinite? Or must we give that respect to the errors of men's consciences so as to satisfy their scruples by allowance of this liberty to them? Scruple of conscience is no cause of separation, nor doth it take off causeless separation from being schism, which may arise from errors of conscience as well as carnal and corrupt reason: therefore we conceive the causes of separation must be shewn to be such, *ex natura rei*, as will bear it out; and therefore we say that granting the liberty desired will give a countenance to schism."

Many instances of this spirit might be adduced; but we shall only notice the following. A work was published by the assembly in 1650, entitled, "A Vindication of the Presbyterial government and ministry; with an exhortation to all ministers, elders, and people, within the province of London, &c. Published by the ministers and elders

met together in a provincial assembly. George Walker, moderator; Arthur Jackson and Edmund Calamy, assessors; Roger Drake and Elidad Blackwell, scribes.

This work contains the following expressions:—"Whatsoever doctrine is contrary to godliness, and opens a door to libertinism and profaneness, you must reject it as soul poison: such is the doctrine of a universal toleration in religion." The ministers in the different parts of the country seem to have been of the same mind. Those in Lancashire published a paper in 1648, called "The harmonious consent of the Lancashire ministers with their brethren in London;" in which they say, "A toleration would be putting a sword into a madman's hand; a cup of poison into the hand of a child; a letting loose of madmen with firebrands in their hands, and appointing a city of refuge in men's consciences for the devil to fly to; a laying a stumbling-block before the blind; a proclaiming liberty to the wolves to come into Christ's fold to prey upon the lambs: neither would it be to provide for tender consciences, but to take away all conscience."*

We turn away with disgust from these intolerant sentiments, and rejoice that the attempt has been made, and that none of the predicted effects have ensued.

It was very common at this time for the enemies of the Baptists to represent the practice of immersion as indecent and dangerous, and to argue that it could not be according to divine authority, because a breach of the sixth commandment, "Thou shalt not kill;" and the divine declaration, "I will have mercy, and not sacrifice." Who would have thought that Mr. Richard Baxter could have expressed himself in language like the following? "My sixth argument shall be against the usual manner of their baptizing, as it is by dipping over head in a river, or other cold water. That which is a plain breach of the sixth commandment, 'Thou shalt not kill,' is no ordinance of God, but a most heinous sin. But the ordinary practice of baptizing over head and in cold water, as necessary, is a plain breach of the sixth commandment, therefore it is no ordinance of God, but a heinous sin. And as Mr. Cradock shews in his book of gospel liberty, the magistrate ought to restrain it, to save the lives of his subjects—That this is

* Crosby, vol. 1. p. 190.

flat murder, and no better, being ordinarily and generally used, is undeniable to any understanding man—And I know not what trick a covetous landlord can find out to get his tenants to die apace, that he may have new fines and heriots, likelier than to encourage such preachers, that he may get them all to turn Anabaptists. I wish that this device be not it which countenanceth these men: and covetous physicians, methinks, should not be much against them. Catarrhs and obstructions, which are the too great fountains of most mortal diseases in man's body, could scarce have a more notable means to produce them where they are not, or to increase them where they are. Apoplexies, lethargies, palsies, and all other comatous diseases, would be promoted by it. So would cephalalgies, hemicranies, phthises, debility of the stomach, crudities, and almost all fevers, dysenteries, diarrhœas, colics, iliac passions, convulsions, spasms, tremors, and so on. All hepatic, splenetic, and pulmonic persons, and hypochondriacs, would soon have enough of it. In a word, it is good for nothing but to dispatch men out of the world that are burdensome, and to ranken churchyards—I conclude, if murder be a sin, then dipping ordinarily over head in England is a sin; and if those who would make it men's religion to murder themselves, and urge it upon their consciences as their duty, are not to be suffered in a commonwealth, any more than highway murderers; then judge how these Anabaptists, that teach the necessity of such dipping, are to be suffered.—My seventh argument is also against another wickedness in their manner of baptizing, which is their dipping persons naked, which is very usual with many of them, or next to naked, as is usual with the modestest that I have heard of—If the minister must go into the water with the party—it will certainly tend to his death, though they may escape that go in but once. Would not vain young men come to a baptizing to see the nakedness of maids, and make a mere jest and sport of it?"*

It is with pleasure we give a place to the reflections of the late venerable Abraham Booth on these remarks, which certainly merited severe animadversion, especially as they were published at a time when, as the sequel will shew, they were calculated to produce some serious consequences

* Baxter's Plain Scripture Proof, p. 134—137.

towards those who were in the practice of baptizing by immersion.

"Were this representation just (says Mr. Booth), we should have no reason to wonder if his following words expressed a fact: 'I am still more confirmed that a visible judgment of God doth still follow anabaptizing wherever it comes.' It was not without reason, I presume, that Mr. Baxter made the following acknowledgment: 'I confess my style is naturally keen.' I am a little suspicious also that D. Owen had some cause to speak of his writings as follows:—'I verily believe that if a man who had nothing else to do, should gather into a heap all the expressions which in his late books, confessions, and apologies, have a lovely aspect towards himself, as to ability, diligence, sincerity, on the one hand; with all those which are full of reproach and contempt towards others, on the other; the view of them could not but a little startle a man of so great modesty, and of such eminency in the mortification of pride, as Mr. Baxter is.' Hence we learn that the Baptists are not the only persons who have felt the weight of Mr. Baxter's hand; so that if a recollection of others having suffered under his keen resentment can afford relief, the poor Baptists may take some comfort, and it is an old saying,

Solamen miseris socios habuisse doloris.

"Before I dismiss this extraordinary language of Mr. Baxter (adds Mr. Booth), it is proper to be observed, that the charge of shocking indecency, which he lays with so much confidence against the Baptists of those times, was not suffered by them to pass without animadversion. No, he was challenged to make it good: it was denied, it was confuted by them. With a view to which Dr. Wall says, 'The English Antipædobaptists need not have made so great an outcry against Mr. Baxter for his saying that they baptized naked; for if they had, it had been no more than the primitive Christians did.' But surely they had reason to complain of misrepresentation; such misrepresentation as tended to bring the greatest odium upon their sentiment and practice. Besides, however ancient the practice charged upon them was, its antiquity could not have justified their conduct, except it had been derived from divine command, or apostolic example; neither of which appears."*

* Pædobap. Exam. vol. 1. p. 263—265.

It is a little extraordinary that in the next year, 1647, considerable favour was manifested towards the Baptists.—Perhaps it arose from the policy of Cromwell, wishing to check the overgrown power of the Presbyterians, or from some of his officers and other persons of considerable influence embracing their sentiments, and using their interest in their behalf.

In a declaration of the lords and commons, published March 4, 1647, it is said, "The name of Anabaptism hath indeed contracted much odium by reason of the extravagant opinions of some of that name in Germany, tending to the disturbance of the government, and the peace of all states, which opinions and practices we abhor and detest. But for their opinion against the baptism of infants, it is only a difference about a circumstance of time in the administration of an ordinance, wherein in former ages, as well as in this, learned men have differed both in opinion and practice.—And though we could wish that all men would satisfy themselves, and join with us in our judgment and practice in this point; yet herein we hold it fit that men should be convinced by the word of God, with great gentleness and reason, and not beaten out of it by force and violence."*

This declaration discovered much of a truly Christian spirit; and happy would it have been if all governments had always acted on such principles. But it is lamentable to observe, that the very next year, a more severe law was passed than any that had been made in England since the Reformation. It bore date May 2, 1648, and was entitled, "An Ordinance of the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, for the punishment of blasphemies and heresies." One article was, "Whosoever shall say that the baptism of infants is unlawful, or that such baptism is void, and that such persons ought to be baptized again, and in pursuance thereof shall baptize any person formerly baptized; or shall say the church-government by presbytery is antichristian or unlawful, shall upon conviction by the oath of two witnesses, or by his own confession, be ordered to renounce his said error in the public congregation of the parish where the offence was committed, and in case of refusal, he shall be committed to prison till he find sure-

* Crosby, vol. 1. p. 196.

tios that he shall not publish or maintain the said error any more."*

It is likely that the death of the king in this year, and the confusion which resulted from it, might prevent this cruel and shameful ordinance from being carried into effect, as we do not hear that any were prosecuted upon it.

The government was now altered, and instead of being in the parliament, was vested in a single person. This was the general, Oliver Cromwell, whose title was to be His Highness, Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and of the dominions thereunto belonging.

The Baptists in the army seem to have been apprehensive that he entertained designs against them, as appears from the following letter, which we insert, not because we approve of its spirit, but because it may cast some light upon the history of the times. It was probably written by some of his officers, who were envious at his exaltation, and offended that he had deserted his republican sentiments. It is entitled, "A short discovery of his Highness the Lord Protector's intentions touching the Anabaptists in the army, and all such as are against his reforming things in the church; which was first communicated by a Scotch lord who is called Twidle; but is now come to the ear of the Anabaptists: upon which there are propounded thirty-five queries for his highness to answer to his conscience. By a well-wisher to the Anabaptists' prosperity, and all the rest of the separatists in England."†

* Crosby, vol. 1. p. 203.

† "*To His Highness the Lord Protector.*

"My Lord,

"There is some intelligence abroad, which I desire to communicate in a private way, lest I become a prey to the malice or envy of the roaring lion. But to the matter intended, and that is this:—It seems your highness being discoursing with a Scotch lord, who is called the lord Twidle, you were pleased to say that there was something amiss in the church and state, which you would reform as soon as may be. Of those that were amiss in the state, some were done and the rest were doing; and as for those things that were amiss in the church, you hoped to rectify them by degrees, as convenient opportunity presented itself; but before you could do this work, the Anabaptists must be taken out of the army; and this you could not do with sharp corrosive medicines, but it must be done by degrees. From which there are two things observable, 1. The work. 2. The way you intend to do this work.

"1. First, to the work; and that is church-work. It seems you intend to follow the steps of them that are gone before, which could not be content to meddle with state-affairs, but to make laws and statutes, and impose them upon the people as rules of divine worship. And this is the work you intend to be at, under pretence of our resting men, and so to destroy truth.

It was not known that during the contest between Charles I. and the parliament, any Baptists were in the

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"But who could have thought, when you made your last speech to Parliament, when your tongue was so sweetly tipt for the liberty of conscience, reproving the parliament for having a finger on their brother's conscience; who could have imagined that then heard you that you would have been so soon at the same trade, unless he had supposed a fountain could have sent forth sweet water and bitter? But,

"Secondly, the way you intend to take to bring about this design, is twofold. 1. To purge the army of the Anabaptists. 2. To do it by degrees. But, Oliver, is this thy design? And is this the way to be rid of the Anabaptists? And is this the reason, because they hinder the things amiss in the church? I confess they have been enemies to the Presbyterian church-government; and so were you at Dunbar in Scotland; or at least you seemed to be so by your words and actions; for you spake as pure independency as any of us all then; and made this an argument why we should fight stoutly: because we had the prayers of the Independents and baptized churches. So highly did you seem to love the Anabaptists then, that you did not only invite them into the army, but entertain them in your family; but it seems the case is altered. But, I pray, do not deceive yourself, nor let the priests deceive you; for the Anabaptists are men that will not be shuffled out of their birth-rights, as free-born people of England. And have they not filled your towns, your cities, your provinces, your islands, your castles, your navies, your tents, your armies (except that which went to the West-Indies, which prospers so well), your court?—your very council is not free; only we have left your temples for yourself to worship in. So that I believe it will be a hard thing to root them out; although you tell the Scotch lord you will do it by degrees, as he reports.

"May it please your highness seriously to consider what hath been said, and answer these ensuing queries to your own conscience:

"1. Whether your highness had come to the height of honour and greatness you are now come to, if the Anabaptists, so called, had been so much your enemies as they were your friends?

"2. Whether the Anabaptists were ever unfaithful, either to the commonwealth in general, or to your highness in particular? And if not, then what is the reason of your intended dismission?

"3. Whether the Anabaptists be not as honest now as in the year 1650, and 51, and 52, &c.? And if, so, why not as useful now as then?

"4. Whether the Anabaptists are not to be commended for their integrity, which had rather keep faith and a good conscience, although it may lose them their employments, than to keep their employments with the loss of both?

"5. Whether the Anabaptists may not as justly endeavour to cast out the bowels of your government, as your highness may endeavour to cut them out of their employments?

"6. Whether the Anabaptists did not come more justly into their employments in the army, than your highness came into the seat of government?

"7. Whether, if the Anabaptists had the power in their hands, and were as able to cast you out as you were them, and they did intend it to you as you do to them; whether, I say, your highness would not call them all knaves?

"8. Whether this be fair dealing in the sight of God and men, to pretend a great deal of love to the Anabaptists, as to major Pack and Mr. Kiffin, and a hundred more that I could name, when at the same time you intend evil against them?

"9. Whether the Anabaptist will not be in a better condition in the day of Christ that keeps his covenant with God and men, than your highness will be if you break with both?

"10. Whether a hundred of the old Anabaptists, such as marched under your command in 49, 49, 50, &c. be not as good as two hundred of your new courtiers, if you were in such a condition as you were at Dunbar in Scotland?

"11. Whether the cause of the army's defeat in Hispaniola was because there were so many Anabaptists in it? And if so, if that be the only reason why they are so much out of date?

"12. Whether your highness hath not changed your former intention, to have an equal respect to the godly, though different in judgment? And if so, whether it be not from the better to the worse?

king's army, yet there seem to have been some of that persuasion among the troops of the parliament; and it has

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"13. Whether your highness's conscience was not more at peace, and your mind more set upon things above, when you loved the Anabaptists, than it is now, when you hate their principles, or their service, or both?

"14. Whether your highness's court is not a greater charge to this nation than the Anabaptists in the army? And if so, whether this be the ease which you promised the people?

"15. Whether there be any disproportion betwixt the state of things now, and the state of things in the days of old? And if there be, show us where it lieth, how, and when?

"16. Whether the monies laid out in the making of the new rivers and ponds at Hampton-court, might not have been better bestowed in paying the public faith, or the Anabaptists' arrears before their dismission?

"17. Whether it is not convenient for the Anabaptists to provide for their own safety, seeing from you they can expect none?

"18. Whether it will be any more treason to fight for our liberties and civil properties in these days, if they be denied us, than it was to fight for them in the days of the king?

"19. Whether the instrument of government be as the laws of the Medes and Persians that alter not? If so, how is it that Mr. John Biddle is now a prisoner?

"20. Whether your highness may not as well violate the whole instrument of government as the 37th and 38th articles; if so, what security have the people for their liberty?

"21. Whether our liberty doth not wholly depend upon your will, and the will of a future protector, seeing the instrument of government is so little useful? If so, whether our condition be not as bad as ever?

"22. Whether you may not as justly suffer all to be put in prison that differ from the church of England, as to suffer Mr. Biddle to be imprisoned?

"23. Whether it will not be more abominable to the Anabaptists, or Independents, or Mr. Biddle, or any other professing faith in God by Jesus Christ, and are not disturbers of the civil peace, nor turn their liberty into licentiousness, to suffer for their consciences under your government, that promised liberty to such, than it was to have suffered under the king, that promised them none?

"24. Whether your highness will not appear to be a dreadful apostate and fearful dissembler, if you suffer persecution to fall upon the Anabaptists, or Independents, or them of Mr. Biddle's judgment, seeing you promised equal liberty to all?

"25. Whether this will not prove your highness's ruin, if you join with such a wicked principle to persecute for conscience, or to turn men out of the army for being Anabaptists, or for any such thing as differs from the church of England, seeing God hath confounded all such as have done so?

"26. Whether the old parliament was not turned out for leaving undone that which they ought to have done? And if so, whether those things have been done since?

"27. Whether the little parliament was not turned out for doing that which the other left undone; or taking away of tithes and other grievances? And if so, then,

"28. Whether you did not intend your own ends more than you did the nation's good, in breaking the first parliament, and calling the second, and dissolving them again?

"29. Whether the instrument of government was not preparing eight or nine days before the breaking up of the little parliament? And if so, whether you did not intend their dissolving?

"30. Whether you did not tell a shameful untruth to the last parliament, saying, that you did not know of their dissolving, that is to say the little parliament, till they came to deliver up their power to you?

"31. Whether your highness did not put a slur upon the lord Lambert, when he should have gone lord-deputy to Ireland, in telling the parliament it savoured too much of a monarchy; and so sent Fleetwood with a lower title?

"32. Whether your highness do not intend to put another slur upon the lord Lambert, in sending for the lord-deputy to come into England, to make him generalissimo of the armies in England, Scotland, and Ireland?

been assigned as a reason for disbanding one entire regiment in the army of the earl of Essex, that the colonel himself countenanced the separatists, particularly the Anabaptists. Although their numbers increased considerably from about the year 1649, to such a degree indeed as that the principal officers in different regiments both of horse and foot became Baptists, particularly in Cromwell's own regiment of horse, and in that of the duke of Albemarle's regiment of foot, yet it is said, on good information, that previous to this, there were not to be found, at any time, twenty persons of this denomination *vested with command* of any kind in the whole army. Until the year 1648, two only of this profession, Mr. Lawrence, and Mr. John Fiennes, a son of lord Say, were members of the house of commons; and in that year, before the death of the king, they withdrew from the parliament because they disapproved of its proceedings, and lived in retirement for about six years, when Mr. Lawrence was again called into public employment. In 1650, captain Mildmay, captain Pack, and sir John Harman,

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"33. Whether it is not convenient for the lord Lambert to consider of those actions, and to have an eye to your proceedings, lest by degrees you eat him out of all, as you intend to do the Anabaptists?

"34. Whether the excessive pride of your family do not call for a speedy judgment from heaven, seeing pride never goeth without a fall?

"35. Whether the six coach-horses did not give your highness a fair warning of some worse thing to follow, if you repent not, seeing God often forewarns before he strikes home?—

THE CONCLUSION.

"My Lord,

"My humble request is, that you will seriously consider of these few lines: although you may dislike the way by which they are communicated, yet let the matter sink deep into your heart; for these things should have met you in another manner, had not your highness cast off all such friendly communication by word of mouth, and the persons too, if they did but tell you plainly their minds. And take heed of casting away old friends for new acquaintance, as Rehoboam did, who forsook the counsel of his good old friends, and consulted with his young courtiers; which caused the ten tribes to revolt from him.* And it is a deadly sign of a speedy ruin, when a prince or a state casts off the interests of the people of God; as you may see how Joash forsook the people and the house of God, and then his house fell before a few of the Assyrians, and at last his own servants conspired against him, and slew him.

"And therefore, O Cromwell! leave off thy wicked design of casting off the interest of the people of God; and 'let my counsel be acceptable to thee; and break off thy sins by righteousness, and thy iniquity by shewing mercy to the poor, and it may be a lengthening out of thy tranquillity.' For it is not strength united with policy, but righteousness accompanied with strength, that must keep alive your interest with God and the people. And when both these die, that is to say righteousness and sincerity, then adieu to thy greatness here, and thy eternal happiness hereafter.

"From him who wishes your happiness so long as you do well.—*Printed for the information of all such as prize the liberty of their consciences, for which so much blood has been spilt.*"†

* 1 Kings xii. 8.

† Crosby, vol. 3. p. 231—242.

who were all Baptists, were preferred to commands at sea.* Major-general Harrison, whom Baxter pronounces, "a man of excellent parts, for affection and oratory, though not well seen in the principles of his religion,"† was the only Baptist among the king's judges: and indeed it appears that he himself was not actually baptized till 1657, which was several years after that tragical event had taken place.

The following extract of a letter from captain Richard Deane, to Dr. Barlow, bishop of Lincoln, furnishes considerable information concerning the state of the Baptists at this period, and their conduct in the affairs of the state.

"My Lord,

"The ground of my humbly tendering these ensuing pages to your lordship, is your declared condescension to peruse any small treatise that should be presented to you concerning the proper subject and administration of baptism. That they may in your lordship's charity, so for as their conversation suits with their doctrine, be admitted among the number of sincere Christians, I intend to bring to your remembrance some of their leaders, and the occasions which prepared the way for the increase of their numbers.

"About thirty-eight years since, in the heat of our late troubles, episcopacy being laid aside, and presbytery only as it were by way of experiment for a season attempted, but never in a national way prosecuted with effect, every man was at liberty to pursue the persuasions of his own mind, as to entering into church-fellowship in distinct congregations, and therein to join with such as he conceived came nearest to the primitive pattern in worship and discipline. About that time and a little after there were many ministers, some who had been before ordained, and others who had been admitted to parochial and other public charges. Among whom of my acquaintance were Mr. Tombes, sometime preacher at the Temple; Mr. Christopher Blackwood in Kent, Mr. Benjamin Cox at Bedford, Mr. Edward Harrison, Mr. Daniel Dyke, and some others in or near Hertfordshire; Mr. Hansard Knollys, and many others who did openly profess, and several of them write and publish, their

* Crosby's History of the Baptists, vol. 2. p. 2—5.
† Baxter's Life, part 1. p. 57.

opinions concerning the proper subject and manner of baptism. Some of them voluntarily left their parochial charges and benefices, as not approving the baptizing of infants, and collected distinct congregations of such as agreed with them in this doctrine of baptism; which by a succession of ordained ministers in the places of such as are dead, remain to this day.

"In the year 1649, the Baptists greatly increased in the country, and their opinions did likewise spread themselves into some of the regiments of horse and foot in the army; and that in 1650 and afterward, some professing this opinion were called from their private employments, and preferred to commands at sea. Among others, captain Mildmay; to command the admiral flag-ship, under the late duke of Albemarle, when he was one of the generals at sea. Captain Pack, to command the flag-ship under sir George Ascue, rear admiral; sir John Harman, to command the admiral flag-ship under his royal highness the duke of York.

"But notwithstanding some of this sect had that countenance given them as I have mentioned, by such as had the principal management of affairs; yet this sect in general, as they have published in their apologies, were the least of any sort of people concerned in any vicissitudes of government that happened among us. My station within the aforementioned ten years gave me opportunity to know most persons and actions of note, in reference as well to civil as martial affairs, and particularly those of this sect. And although in and after the year 1649, their numbers did increase, insomuch that the principal officers in divers regiments of horse and foot became Anabaptists, particularly in Oliver Cromwell's own regiment of horse when he was captain general of all the parliament's forces, and in the duke of Albemarle's own regiment of foot when he was general of all the English forces in Scotland; yet by the best information I could have, there were not, at any time before the year 1649, twenty Anabaptists in any sort of command in the whole army; and until after the year 1648, there were no more than two, viz. Mr. Lawrence, and Mr. John Fiennes, one of the lord Say's sons, who made profession of this opinion, chosen into the commons' house of parliament, and both these did in that year and in the life-

time of king Charles I., as I have been credibly informed, voluntarily depart from that parliament, as not approving their proceedings against the person of the king, and sat no more in it, but lived privately until about six years afterward. A new form of government being then formed, and in appearance settled, Mr. Lawrence was again called into public employment.

"I confess to your lordship, I never heard of any Anabaptists in the king's army during the contest between his majesty and the parliament: and perhaps, because there were some in the parliament's army and none in the king's army, some persons have from thence taken occasion to affirm, that the opinion of Anabaptism in the church is opposite to monarchy in the state. It is true, as before is mentioned, that this opinion was no general bar to the continuance of such as did embrace it in public employments, though I have cause to believe that one special reason of disbanding one entire regiment in the earl of Essex's army was, because the colonel entertained and gave countenance to separatists and some Anabaptists. And that which occasioned Oliver Cromwell, after he usurped the government of lord-protector, to discharge at once all the principal officers of his own regiments upon other pretences was, for that they were all Anabaptists."*

It belongs to this period, also, to introduce some account of another distinguished military officer, who ranks among the denomination of Baptists. I refer to Colonel Hutchinson, who was governor of Nottingham-castle during the time of the civil wars. He was one of the king's judges, and whether in the senate or the field, uniformly distinguished himself as a person of great courage, judgment, piety, and liberality. An interesting narrative of his life and times, drawn up by his amiable and accomplished wife, has been recently issued from the press, in which the following account is given of the manner in which he was led to embrace the sentiments of the Baptists: the circumstances are related with the characteristic simplicity and good sense which pervade the whole work.

"At Nottingham they had gotten a very able minister into the great church, but a bitter Presbyterian. Him and his brethren, my lady Fairfax caressed with so much kind-

* Crosby, vol. 2, Preface, p. 2—5.

ness, that they grew impudent to preach up their faction openly in the pulpit, and to revile the others, and at length they would not suffer any of the army chaplains to preach in the town. They then coming to the governor and complaining of their unkind usage, he invited them to come and preach in his house, which when it was known they did there was a great concourse of people came thither to them; and the Presbyterians when they heard it were madded with rage, not only against them but against the governor, who accidentally gave them another occasion about the same time. When formerly the Presbyterian ministers forced him for quietness' sake to go and break up a private meeting in the cannoneers' chamber, there were found some notes concerning pædobaptism, which being brought into the governor's lodgings, his wife having then more leisure to read than he, having perused and compared them with the Scriptures, found not what to say against the truths they asserted concerning the misapplication of that ordinance to infants: but being then young and modest, she thought it a kind of virtue to submit to the judgment and practice of most churches, rather than defend a singular opinion of her own, she not being then enlightened in that great mistake of the national churches. But in this year she happening to be with child, communicated her doubts to her husband, and desired him to endeavour her satisfaction; and while he did, he himself became as unsatisfied, or rather satisfied against it. First therefore, he diligently searched the Scriptures alone, and could find in them no ground at all for this practice. Then he bought and read all the treatises on both sides, which at that time came thick from the presses, and still was cleared in the error of the pædobaptists. After this, his wife being brought to bed, that he might if possible give the religious party no offence, he invited all the ministers to dinner, and propounded his doubt and the ground thereof to them. None of them could defend their practice with any satisfactory reason, but the tradition of the church from the primitive times, and their main buckler of federal holiness, which Tombes and Donne had excellently overthrown. He and his wife then professing themselves unsatisfied in the practice, desired their opinions what they ought to do. Most answered, to conform to the general practice of other Christians, how dark

soever it were to themselves; but Mr. Foxcraft, one of the assembly, said, that except they were convinced of the warrant of that practice from the word, they sinned in doing it: whereupon that infant was not baptized. And now the governor and his wife, notwithstanding that they forsook not their assemblies, nor retracted the benevolences and civilities from them; yet they were reviled by them, called fanatics and Anabaptists, and often glanced at in their public sermons. Not only the ministers, but all their zealous sectaries, conceived implacable malice against them on that account, which was carried on with a spirit of envy and persecution to the last; though he on his side might well have said to them, as his master to the old pharisees, "Many good works have I done among you; for which of these do ye hate me?" Yet the generality even of that people had a secret conviction upon them, that he had been faithful to them and deserved their love; and in spite of their own bitter zeal, they could not but have a reverent esteem for him whom they often railed at for not thinking and speaking according to their opinions."*

Having introduced this excellent man to the reader's notice, it possibly may not be altogether unacceptable to him to be furnished with a few more particulars of his personal history, and that of his amiable consort.

He was descended of an ancient and honourable family, and born at Nottingham, in the month of September, 1616. He was the eldest surviving son of sir Thomas Hutchinson and lady Margaret, his first wife, a daughter of sir John Biron, of Newsted, in the same county. As soon as his age permitted, he was placed under the tuition of Mr. Theobalds, then master of the free school at Nottingham; and shortly afterward he was sent to the free school at Lincoln, which was conducted by a Mr. Clarke. This person, though pious, was remarkable for his pedantry; which so disgusted young Hutchinson, that he could never profit under his instructions. While at this seminary, he was taught the military exercise by an old soldier, who was kept by the master to give his pupils some notion of the art of war. He was again sent to the free school at Nottingham, in which he made very great proficiency; and from this place went to the university of Cambridge, and

* Ed. 2. p. 271, 272.

there was made a fellow-commoner of Peter-house. The tutor of his college was Mr. Norwich, a person of great learning, and of an amiable disposition. Under this preceptor, he made rapid progress in his studies, received great applause for several public exercises, and obtained a degree as a testimony of his merits. After remaining at college five years, he returned to his father's house at Nottingham. He was now about twenty years old, having hitherto resisted the temptations of youth, and been noted for the sobriety and consistency of his deportment. His father had been for some time married to a second wife, and was surrounded by a youthful and increasing progeny. This circumstance was not altogether agreeable to young Hutchinson, who, however, wishing to avoid any complaints that he might make if he continued at home, adopted the resolution of visiting London. There he entered Lincoln's Inn; but soon found the study of the law so irksome and unpleasant, that he very shortly abandoned it. Soon afterward, in 1638, he entered into the marriage relation with Miss Lucy Apsley, second daughter of sir Allen Apsley, lieutenant of the Tower. She was a young lady of great beauty, parts, and acquirements; and wrote the memoirs of her husband, which have been lately published by a descendant of the family. During two years' leisure that Mr. Hutchinson now enjoyed, he directed his attention to several branches of divinity. In October, 1641, he retired to his seat at Owthorpe, in Nottinghamshire. About this time was perpetrated the Irish massacre, which filled the nation with horror, and preceded those civil commotions and distresses with which Britain was about to be chastised. This massacre, and the conversation which it every where occasioned, led Mr. Hutchinson to employ his thoughts on the political state of the country: and the result of this inquiry was a persuasion that the cause of the parliamentarians was supported by justice. He, with some others, was requested by nearly all the freeholders and middle classes in his native county, to present a petition to the king, then at York, to return to parliament. Soon afterward he took up arms, though not till necessity compelled him; for a warrant was issued for his apprehension, and he, with his wife, was obliged to quit home. He accepted the commission of lieutenant-colonel among the forces appointed by

the parliament to be raised. He was then engaged, in conjunction with many parliamentarians, in the defence of Nottingham: and when the troops there quartered were called out to the relief of general Essex, he was appointed, by the committee of that town, to the government of its castle.

In 1643, his father died, having left his personal estate, and all his property that was unsettled at Mr. Hutchinson's marriage, to his second wife and children. The enemies of Col. Hutchinson then seized, by violence, the rents of his tenants, which he was about to receive; and his estate being sought for by several, promise of it was obtained from the king. In this extremity, though he had supported the garrison chiefly at his own expense, and thus lessened his pecuniary resources; and though he was repeatedly tempted, with the most flattering promises, to desert his party, he remained inflexibly firm. He adopted the most salutary measures for the protection of the castle and town; but his efforts were frequently rendered abortive by the treachery of some under his command. By them a party of the royalists were one night admitted into the town, but were soon expelled by the prudence and intrepidity of the governor. A few of the committee, wishing to ruin their commander, that they might obtain authority themselves, endeavoured to excite a spirit of discontent among the soldiers and townsmen; and had the effrontery to lay a statement of their pretended grievances before a committee of both nations. The result of this contest was a perfect justification of Col. Hutchinson, and the disgrace of his infamous calumniators. His office had been previously ratified by parliament, who had also intrusted him with the government of the town, and presented him with thanks for his services. While he held these commissions he often distinguished himself for his bravery. At the siege of Shelford, in which was a garrison under the command of colonel Philip Stanhope, eldest son to the earl of Chesterfield, he exposed himself to the greatest dangers, and was the first that scaled the walls. He was also at the siege of Newark, which surrendered to him and his men.

Having been chosen a member of parliament, in the place of his father, he came to London to discharge the duties of his new office. The parliament were at that time divided

by the factions and animosities of the Independents and the Presbyterians. Colonel Hutchinson was soon marked as a strenuous Independent; and, in the controversy between the army and the Presbyterians, he ranked himself with the army. Returning, at the settlement of parliament, to his garrison at Nottingham, he found it consisted only of the castle; and that all his regiment, except two companies, had been disbanded. This being the case, he resigned his commission, and went, with his family, to live at Owthorpe. His house was almost in ruins, but he then had not money sufficient to repair it. He was, however, earnestly entreated to resume his commission, but in vain; for his health was now rather delicate, and he wished to enjoy a little peace and retirement.

Being again summoned to parliament, he was nominated one of the commissioners for the trial of king Charles I. To this nomination he at first felt considerable reluctance to accede. But being convinced, after mature deliberation, and fervent prayer for direction, that the measure was fully justifiable, he no longer hesitated. Whatever were the motives which induced that assembly to judge and condemn their sovereign, or whatever opinion may be formed of their proceedings, the conduct of colonel H. in that affair was certainly dictated by conscientious principles.

After the dissolution of parliament, he returned to Owthorpe, and devoted his time to the education of his children (who had, besides, the ablest masters;) to the suppression of disorders in his neighbourhood; and to the administration of justice. He was elected a member of the parliament, summoned April 25, 1660, but was soon suspended, on account of the part he took in the transactions relative to Charles I.; and his punishment was a sentence of dismissal from the present house of parliament, and of incapacity to sustain any public office, civil or military, for ever. This sentence must be allowed not to have been very severe; but he was not permitted to live unmolested. He was accused, without the least shadow of proof, of treasonable designs and practices. His house was pillaged of all his armour, to the value of 100*l.*; and some pictures that had once belonged to the late king, and which he had purchased in London during the interregnum, to the amount

of 1000*l.* or 1500*l.*, were wrested from him by an order from the secretary of state. By a warrant from the same secretary, he was seized one Sunday evening, while expounding to his family a portion of the Epistle to the Romans. After undergoing very severe treatment, he was dismissed; but in a short time again apprehended—thrust into a filthy prison, where he fell sick—and commanded by the king to be carried to London in custody. Having with much pain arrived there, he was committed to the Tower, and bore several petty examinations. Sir John Robinson, then keeper, a worthless character, was as cruel and hardened as a torturer in the inquisition, and employed every method he could devise of insulting and injuring colonel H.

Under all these multiplied calamities, colonel Hutchinson was patient and submissive. An order at length came for his removal to Sandown-castle, in Kent, whither he was still pursued by the malice and cruelty of his adversaries. He was confined to a dreary, damp room, that was exposed to the piercing air of the sea; and against the bottom of which the waves dashed in angry murmurs. In this miserable condition, his wife, who had attended him in all his sufferings, brought some books for his entertainment; but he declared, that if he were to remain in prison all his life, he would read nothing but the Bible. This book, indeed, afforded him divine consolation, so that he said to his disconsolate partner, what reason she had to rejoice that God supported him under his trials, and did not suffer his patience or spirits to fail. He was even thankful for his afflictions, considering them as tokens of his heavenly Father's love, who chastises all his children. Symptoms of disease now began to appear, and he very rapidly grew weaker. In his sickness he was wonderfully cheered by the comforts of religion; and to a person who asked him how he did, he replied, "Incomparably well, and full of faith." He continued in this happy frame, giving serious advice to those that were around him, and pouring out his desires in ejaculatory prayers. When he was questioned as to the ground of his hope, he said, "There's none but Christ, none but Christ, in whom I have unspeakable joy, more than I can express:" and on the sabbath-day, September 11, 1664, his spirit winged her flight to the regions of everlasting re-

pose. Of the political conduct of colonel Hutchinson, various sentiments are entertained, but none question his integrity or piety.

CHAP. IV.

HISTORY OF THE BAPTISTS, FROM THE RESTORATION OF KING CHARLES II. TO THE BANISHMENT OF THE EARL OF CLARENDON. A. D. 1660—1670.

WHATEVER concern the Baptists may be supposed to have had in national affairs, while the unhappy contest was pending between CHARLES I. and his army, it is sufficiently apparent, from what has been seen in the foregoing chapter, that it soon ceased after Cromwell assumed the reins of government, who, when he thought himself well settled, and perceived that it would please the dominant party, began to undermine the sectarians, and in particular to suppress the Baptists. Mr. Baxter charges them with growing insolent both in England and Ireland, after Cromwell's death, and the succession of his son Richard was set aside: and that, joining their brethren in the army, they were every where put in power. He complains of some personal insults and ungenerous treatment, which he received from some who resided near to him, irritated by their remembrance of the opposition he had made to their sentiments, and who, though not many more than twenty, "talked," as he expresses it, "as if they had been lords of the world."* This spirit of resentment and triumph was soon humbled by the disappointment of hope, and a subsequent series of sufferings.

This appears, in the first instance, from a petition presented to king Charles II. signed by thirty-five, on behalf of many others in Lincolnshire. It stated, that not only their meetings for religious worship were interrupted by the magistrates; and bonds for good behaviour were imposed upon them, for the violation of which, on account of

* His own Life, part 2. p. 206.

renewing their assemblies, they were prosecuted as peace-breakers; but that they were abused in the streets, and their own houses could not afford them protection; for, if they were heard praying to God in their families, they were insulted by sounding of horns, beating against their doors, and threats that they should be hanged. If they appealed to the magistrates, the rage of their adversaries received a sanction from the odious terms with which those who sat on the bench of justice reviled them. Many of them were indicted at the sessions for not attending on the preaching of the episcopal clergy, and alarmed with a design of levying from every one of them a penalty of 20*l.* per month.

The petition was graciously received by the king, who promised that he would take particular care that none should trouble them on account of their conscience, in things pertaining to religion; and immediately directed a member of parliament to go to the lord-chancellor and secretary, that the proper measures for this end might be taken.

In the same year, another petition and representation of their sufferings was presented by some Baptists, inhabitants of Kent, and prisoners in the jail at Maidstone. In this paper they appealed to their "Confession of Faith," as truly representing their principles concerning magistracy and government; and deplored the danger which threatened their lives, and the ruin which hung over their wives and little ones, by the violence exercised against them. For, besides being made prisoners, the houses of some had, without any authority from the executive power, been broken open in the dead of night; and from others their goods and cattle had been taken away and detained.

Great also were the sufferings of those who resided in Gloucestershire. The most eminent cavaliers rode about armed with swords and pistols, ransacking their houses, and abusing their families in a violent manner. At the house of Mr. Helme, at Winchcombe, the bed whereon his children laid was not spared; and their outrageous conduct so frightened his wife as to throw her into an illness which threatened her life. Mr. Warren, who possessed the parsonage of Rencome, was with his wife and family penned up into an upper room of his house, and so ha-

rassed night and day by the violence of the assailants and the noise of hautboys, that he died in the place. Mr. Fletcher, who had been put into a vacant place by authority, was so beat and inhumanly treated by a cavalier of his parish, that he and his family fled for their lives. One pious minister was assaulted as he was entering his pulpit. Another was violently pulled out of his house; his wife, children, and goods, were thrown into the street, none of the parish were allowed to give them entertainment, and he himself was haled to jail.*

It is less surprising, that these people were insulted by the ignorant populace, and were abused by the petty officers of power, when even the legislature marked them as the objects of suspicion, hatred, and severity. For the parliament assembled upon the Restoration, when it passed an act for confirming all ministers in the possession of their benefices, how heterodox soever they had been, provided they would conform for the future, excepted such as had been of the Baptist persuasion.†

So far from being encouraged to conform, or being permitted in peace and security to dissent, they were pursued with cruelty. Divers of them were cast into Reading prison, for conscientiously scrupling to take some oaths administered to them. At Newport in Wales, at the end of sermon, two were set upon by soldiers with swords and staves.‡ At London, Dr. John Griffith was committed to Newgate, where he lay seventeen months, for no other crime but preaching to a congregation of Protestants. In Lincolnshire, Mr. Thomas Grantham and some others were taken from their meeting at Boston by some soldiers, and after having been lodged all night in a public inn, had their rest disturbed, and their minds grieved, by the incessant curses and oaths of their guards; they were, on the next morning, conveyed to the common jail, and detained there, without so much as the least pretence of any crime laid to their charge, till the assizes, when they were dismissed. At Dover, the magistrates were severe against them, taking them from their meeting-houses, and committing them to prison. After four-and-twenty days they were admitted to bail, and

* Crosby, vol. 2. p. 1—30.
† Wall's History of Infant Baptism, vol. 2. p. 215.
‡ Crosby, vol. 2. p. 94. 97.

appearing at the assizes were forbidden to assemble any more in their own place of worship, but were allowed the use of one of the churches. This privilege, which they enjoyed about the space of five months, was afterward denied to them. Upon meeting again in their own place, their worship was disturbed, and twenty-four of them, under different commitments, sent to prison; at the quarter-sessions, a bill of indictment was found against them; some traversed it, others submitted to the court, and the rest were remitted to the prison again.*

A circumstance which much aggravated the proceedings against these people was, that they were not apprehended by the peace-officers only, but by rude, youthful, and mercenary soldiers; who seized them, to the terror of women and children, with muskets and drawn swords, did violence to their persons, and spoiled their goods.†

In June 1661, one of these military banditties went to a meeting-house in Whitechapel, and laid hands on more than twenty; one of whom refusing to go with them unless they produced their warrant, they not only pulled him along by force, and beat him about the head with their hangers, but lifting him up several times between three or four, let him fall with violence, and drove his breast and stomach against the rails with such force, that his health was greatly injured by the blows and falls. When a suit was commenced against the actors of this tragedy, the persons, at whose complaint the soldiers were arrested, were themselves arrested, and sent to Newgate, where they lay about ten or twelve days before they could be bailed, and were held bound from sessions to sessions, for a long time, before they could be discharged.

The persons assembling in the same meeting-house were assaulted by a like body of soldiers, October the 20th, 1661, and one of them, the minister objecting to the authority under which they professed to act, was by a mittimus pretending and asserting great matters, cast into Newgate, where he lay thirty weeks, without any thing laid to his charge, and then they released him.

On the 3d of November, in the same year, a similar outrage was committed, in the same place, with as little show or face of law. The preacher and three more were seized,

* Crosby, vol. 2. p. 149, 150. 154, 155. † Ibid. vol. 2. p. 161.

and thrown into New prison, from which, in time of sessions, one was removed to Newgate, under pretence of being brought to his trial; which, however, he could never procure, though he called for it in the face of the court, nor was his name returned in the calendar. Yet he was kept in jail twelve weeks, till fetched out by a person in authority. He suffered in all eighteen, and the other persons twenty-eight, weeks' imprisonment.*

In the following year, their religious assemblies, in different parts of the town, met with the like violent interruptions from the soldiery, breaking in with their swords and muskets, and acting under the authority of John Robinson the lieutenant of the Tower, as in the former cases. In one instance a child in the cradle was awaked out of its sleep by their violence, and so terrified, that it fell sick, and died in three days. In other instances, the forms and furniture of their places of worship were broken and destroyed. Robinson, being told by them that they had broken the pulpit in Brick-lane, replied, "It was well done;" and gave them a piece of gold, as a reward for their good service. In all cases, the persons of those assembled were exposed to their indiscriminating rage; neither sex, nor childhood, nor old age, nor women with child, were spared. At one place the mob was let in to act with soldiers, at the direction of Robinson. Many of the conscientious sufferers, by illegal commitments, were cast into prison.

Even the walls of the prison did not afford them a secure retreat. In the prison itself they were exposed to outrage and fury. When they have been engaged together in religious conversation and acts of devotion, the felons of the jail, the thieves and housebreakers, the pickpockets and highwaymen, have been let into their room, have threatened them, violently assaulted, and beaten them.†

But in the country, were usually the greatest injustice and cruelty practised. The gentlemen in the commission of the peace, near Aylesbury in Buckinghamshire, distinguished themselves by their virulence in prosecuting the Nonconformists, and particularly the Baptists. They filled not the county jail only with prisoners of this description, but hired large houses in Aylesbury, and converted them into prisons; and not contented with the severities in daily

* Crosby, vol. 2. p. 162—165. † Ibid. vol. 2. p. 172—179.

exercise, such as confiscation of goods and imprisonment, they attempted to revive the old practice of punishing heretics with banishment and death. They grounded their proceedings on the oppressive act of the 35th of Elizabeth, for the punishment of persons obstinately refusing to come to church;* which went to banish them, if, after three months' imprisonment, they refused conformity; and if they did not leave the kingdom within a limited time, or should return, to inflict death without benefit of clergy. In 1664, some of these justices proceeded on this act against ten men and two women, all Baptists, who had been apprehended at their meeting in or near Aylesbury: on these persons, because they refused to conform, and to abjure the realm, sentence of death was passed, and immediately their goods also were seized. The other dissenters, who constituted the majority of inhabitants in the town, alarmed at these proceedings, and anticipating their own doom, shut up their shops: this stop to commerce struck the whole town with horror and surprise. A son of one of the condemned persons immediately took horse for London, and was introduced, by Mr. William Kiffin, a gentleman of note amongst the Baptists, and of interest at court, to chancellor Hyde, who was easily engaged to lay the case before the king. His majesty expressed great surprise, that any of his subjects should be put to death for their religion, and inquired whether any law in force justified such proceedings? Being satisfied on this point, he promised his pardon. But lest any precipitancy in executing the sentence should supersede the benefit of his grace, while the pardon was passing through the usual forms, the king, on a renewed application, granted an immediate reprieve. The condemned persons, however, were continued close prisoners till the next assizes, and then the judge brought down his majesty's pardon, and they were all set at liberty.† This would undoubtedly check the disposition of the justices to a similar process. But the virtuous sufferers, besides their other calamities, owed their safety to favour instead of law; and appeared under the ignominious character of pardoned criminals, when they ought to have enjoyed the security and reputation of peaceable and innocent subjects.

The rage of the people, sanctioned by the conduct of the

* See Neal, vol. 1. p. 426, of this edition. † Crosby, vol. 2. p. 180—185.

magistrates and the clergy towards the Baptists, rose to such a height as to deny them the benefit of the common burying places. Nay, there wanted not instances of their being taken out of their graves. The inhabitants of Croft in Lincolnshire treated in this manner the corpse of Mr. Robert Shalder, in the year 1666. He had suffered much by imprisonment, and died soon after his release. He was buried amongst his ancestors; and on the same day his grave was opened, and his body taken out, dragged on a sledge to his own gate, and left there.

In the year 1670, the Baptists of Lewes, and other places in the county of Sussex, suffered in their property by the proceedings of sir Thomas Nutt and other justices, on the conventicle-act. They were convicted without being admitted to plead in their own defence. They were fined in an arbitrary manner; and those fines were recovered in a way exceedingly oppressive and injurious, by distress and sale of goods. Where the fines amounted, as levied on various persons, to 5*l.* there were enacted, by distraints, 29*l.* 17*s.* In some instances, four cheeses were seized to recover 10*s.* five pairs of shoes for 5*s.* a cow for 2*l.* 15*s.* and a horse for 5*s.* Cattle worth 27*l.* was sold for 14*l.* 5*s.* as a distress for 11*l.* 10*s.* One person, for a meeting held in his house, was fined 20*l.* for which were taken from him six cows, two young bullocks, and a horse, his whole stock. On entering an appeal, they were returned to him; but, being cast at the sessions, he was fined 60*l.* which was at last remitted to 23*l.* For nonpayment of this sum he was committed to the jailer's hands, though the vicar of the parish, touched with remorse for his share in the prosecution, offered his bond to pay the whole fine within a quarter of a year.*

It was remarked by one who had been bound over to several assizes and sessions for having religious assemblies held at his house, that the justices, who in criminal matters were often silent, and generally cool and disposed to lenity; when any person or accusation came before them concerning dissenters, were very forward speakers, and zealously aggravated the charge.

But nothing more strongly marked the malignant temper of the times against the Baptists, than the publication of a

* Crosby, vol. 2. p. 244—258.

pamphlet, in the year 1673, avowedly designed to raise an abhorrence of the sect, and to stand "as an eternal memorial of their cruelty and hatred to all orthodox ministers." It was entitled, "Mr. Baxter baptized in blood." The story it exhibited was, that Mr. Josiah Baxter, a godly minister of New-England, for no other reason than because he had worsted the Baptists in a disputation, had been murdered in his own house, amidst "the howlings, groans, and screechings, of his dear relations, lying bound by him;" and it represented this murder as committed with circumstances of peculiar atrocity and cruelty: he being first stripped and severely whipped, and then unbowelled and flayed alive. To give it the air of authenticity, the pamphlet was pretended to be published by the mournful brother of the said minister, an inhabitant of Fenchurch-street, London; and it was actually licensed by Dr. Samuel Parker. This vile tale had its origin in invention and malice alone; for the king's privy council examined the case, and detected the forgery. It appeared, on the oaths of the officers in Fenchurch-street, that no such person as Benjamin Baxter, the pretended publisher, had, in their memory, lived there: and on the affidavits of a master of a vessel, and of a merchant who sailed from Boston about twenty days after this murder was said to be committed, it also appeared, that no such fact had taken place, nor had there been such a person as Mr. Josiah Baxter. The whole story was pronounced by an order of council "altogether false and fictitious;" and Dr. Parker confessed his mistake and credulity in licensing the pamphlet, and acknowledged, by a testimonial under his hand, his conviction that the whole was "both false and groundless." Mr. Andrew Marvel, not without intimating a suspicion that Dr. Parker was concerned in the fabrication, says, that "from beginning to end there never was a completer falsehood invented."* It grieves and shocks a good mind to think that, in any age or party, men can be found to invent and countenance such groundless and malevolent forgeries.

Besides this general survey of the persecutions to which the Baptists were exposed throughout the kingdom, it may be proper briefly to notice two or three particular cases.—One is that of Mr. John James, the minister of a congrega-

* Crosby, vol. 2. p. 278—294.

tion of Baptists, who observed the seventh day as a sabbath, and assembled in Bulstake-alley. Towards the end of the year 1661, they were interrupted in their worship by a justice and headborough, as Mr. James was preaching, whom they commanded in the king's name to be silent and come down, having spoken treason against the king. As Mr. James proceeded in his discourse, without noticing this summons, it was repeated, with a threat of pulling him down. On this the disturbance grew so great, that Mr. James was obliged to stop; but still refusing to leave the pulpit, he was pulled down, and haled away; and the hearers were carried, by sevens, before the justices sitting at the Half-moon tavern, and those who refused the oath of allegiance were committed to prison. Mr. James was examined in the meeting-house; insult and threats accompanied the interrogatories, and he was committed on the charge of speaking treasonable words against his majesty. On this charge he was tried, condemned, and executed. Previously to the execution, his wife delivered to the king a petition, stating his innocence, and the character of the witnesses against him, signifying who she was, which the king received with a taunt: "Oh! Mr. James! he is a sweet gentleman;" and when she attempted to follow for some farther answer, the door was shut against her. On the next morning, she renewed her attendance and suit: and his majesty replied, "that he was a rogue, and should be hanged." A lord in waiting, asking who was meant, the king answered, "Oh, John James, that rogue; he shall be hanged; yea, he shall be hanged."*

The celebrated Mr. Benjamin Keach had also no small share in the sufferings of the times. He was seized, when preaching, and committed to jail; sometimes bound, sometimes released upon bail, and sometimes his life was threatened. Troopers, who were sent down into Buckinghamshire to suppress the meetings of dissenters, entered into an assembly where he was conducting the worship, with great violence, and swearing that they would kill the preacher. He was accordingly seized, and four of them declared their resolution to trample him to death with their horses. They bound him, laid him on the ground, and were going to spur all their horses at once upon him, when their officer, seeing

* Crosby, vol. 2. p. 165—171.

their design, rode up towards them and prevented its execution. Mr. Keach was taken up, tied behind one of the troopers, across his horse, and carried to jail; where he suffered, some time, great hardships before he was released.

In the year 1644, Mr. Keach printed, at the request of friends, without his name, and with a recommendatory preface by another hand, a little piece entitled "The Child's Instructor; or, a new and easy Primmer." In this book were advanced several principles contrary to the doctrines and ceremonies of the church of England; viz. That infants ought not to be baptized; that laymen having abilities may preach the gospel: that Christ should reign personally upon the earth in the latter day, &c. Soon after this tract was printed, and Mr. Keach had received some copies of it, his house was searched for it, all the copies of it they found were seized, and he was bound over to the assizes in a recognizance of 100*l.* and two sureties with him in 50*l.* each. On October 8, Mr. Keach was brought to the bar of Aylesbury, where the assizes were held, before lord-chief-justice Hyde. The judge not only interrogated him, whether he were the author of the Primmer, but, by unjust reflections and angry insults, endeavoured to incense the jury against him, and to render him odious. Mr. Keach was refused a copy of his indictment till he had pleaded to it. In the course of the trial, abuse and contempt were cast upon him from the bench. The jury were intimidated, when they hesitated on their verdict. Mr. Keach was convicted: and the sentence passed was, that he should be committed to jail for a fortnight, stand in the pillory for two hours on the following Saturday at Aylesbury, with a paper on his head with this inscription: "For writing, printing, and publishing, a schismatical book, entitled, 'The Child's Instructor; or, a new and easy Primmer:'" that the same punishment, under like circumstances, should be inflicted on him on the next Thursday at Winslow: that there his book should be openly burnt before his face, in disgrace of him and his doctrine: that he should be fined 20*l.* and that he should remain in jail until he found sureties for his good behaviour and appearance at the next assizes; then to renounce his doctrines, and make such public submission as should be enjoined him. No pardon could be obtained, nor the least

relaxation of the sentence, which the sheriff took care should be punctually executed.*

The spirit of persecution thus raged against this people: but not without a mixture of events, which were adapted seriously to affect the minds of their persecutors, and to alarm them to reflection. On the day of the king's proclamation at Waltham near Theobalds, there was a man who at the bonfire in the evening expressed a rage against the dissenters, and the Baptists in particular, by violence of language and oaths; and as he threw fagots into the fire, cried, "Here is a Round-head; here is an Anabaptist!" he was struck with death that night, and never saw the morning. A minister at one place inveighing in his sermon against this fact, fell into a swoon, and was speechless for two hours, so that it was apprehended that he would never recover out of the fit. At Brockington in Gloucestershire, a young woman, who had bitterly reviled them, giving a sudden shriek, as the preacher was discoursing on Jude 14, 15, dropped down in the religious assembly, and never recovered. The sufferings and character of the dissenters were made a jest upon the stage at Oxford. In a play acted there by the scholars, one personated the old Puritan; who broke a vein and vomited so much blood, that his immediate death was apprehended, and he lay sometime dangerously ill. Two of the actors, and a woman that joined them in this dramatic exhibition, were cut off by death.† Some remarkable calamities befel those who were instruments in the prosecution of Mr. John James.‡ One of the actors in the rude and unnatural treatment of Mr. Shalder's corpse, after it was interred, died suddenly; and another languished for some time, terrified with the remembrance of the insults he had offered to the dead.§ A woman named Anne Clemens, at Chipping-Norton, distinguished by her rage and malice against the dissenters, fell into such circumstances of poverty, as to be obliged to sell her land, and mortgage her house for near its worth. Not one of her children, who resided in the neighbourhood, was in a comfortable condition; and she herself was so reduced as to beg alms of those she had hated and persecuted. Her affliction was heightened by a diseased appetite, which called for as much

* Crosby, vol. 2. p. 185—209.
† Ibid. vol. 2. p. 30—34.
‡ Ibid. p. 172.
§ Ibid. p. 241.

as would satisfy two or three persons; and by a disposition to breed vermin, so that though her clothes were not only washed, but ovened, she could not be kept clean. Richard Allein, an active informer, and violent in his conduct towards the dissenters, fell into afflictions that shortened his days. His eldest son was killed at London; and about the same time, another was accused and convicted for robbing on the highway, and by great friends and fees escaped with his life. An officer in the county troops of Oxford, with an income of 70*l.* per annum, before he could accomplish his design of suppressing the dissenters, sunk in his own estate, died greatly in debt, and his son's children became common beggars. One Werg, a forward and active constable, did not long survive the expiration of his office, and imputed his death to watching one cold night to take the dissenters at their meeting. Five persons, who received pensions as spies and informers, were observed not to prosper afterward, and every one of them shortly died. An Irish peer, and three Irish justices of title and rank, bitter persecutors, it was remarked, while they were directing their whole power to the ruin of the dissenters, were themselves ruined, their estates were sold, and their families became extinct. Whereas sir Littleton Obaldiston, a justice of peace, who had been heard to rail at the dissenters, and acted with others in committing them to prison, afterward laid aside his enmity, was instrumental in releasing several, and conducted himself in a friendly manner; and it was noticed, that his estate continued to his posterity. And it was remarked, that —— Howard, esq. a justice and officer in the county troops in Oxfordshire, who had from an enemy become a friend to the dissenters, though he adhered to the established worship, was the only one of those who had molested and harassed them that was living on the 30th of December, 1707, being then an old man, full of days, wealth, and honour.*

It becomes us, I am sensible, to be very cautious how we construe the events which are common to all men. "There is usually (says an excellent writer) much rashness and presumption in pronouncing, that the calamities of sinners are particular judgments of God; yet if, from sacred and profane, from ancient and modern historians, a collection

* Crosby, vol. 2. p. 259—263.

were made of all the persecuting tyrants, who delighted in tormenting their fellow-creatures, and who died not the common death of all men, nor were visited after the visitation of all men, but whose plagues were horrible and strange, even a sceptic would be moved at the evidence, and would be apt to suspect that it was Θειον τι, that the hand of God was in it."*

But the history, which we are detailing, presents objects to our consideration more pleasing than the sufferings of the persecuted, or calamities that befel persecutors. It records the virtues which the persecuted displayed, and the consolations in which, under their heavy trials, they rejoiced. We see the power of faith and piety, when we hear the Baptists confined in Reading-jail declaring, "Our Lord and King, whom we serve, hath brought us under his own pavilion: and his banner over us hath been and still is love, and hath been teaching of us these lessons following. 1st. In the loss of all outward things, having Christ, we enjoy all things, and are satisfied in the Lord: we shall take the spoiling of our goods with far more comfort, than the enemy will do in the spending of them, for that word, Job xx. 22, 23, is very much on our hearts concerning him. 2dly. We hope we have learned, in whatsoever condition we are, to be therewith contented; and are persuaded in our hearts, this is given us in an answer of many prayers breathed forth unto the Lord on our behalfs. 3dly. That whereas formerly we could hardly part with any thing for the Lord, we are now made willing by him, to part with all things for him, and to say with good old Eli, 'It is the Lord, let him do what he pleaseth;' and that in Job is set before us for our example, upon whom the ends of the world are come: 'The Lord giveth, and the Lord taketh away; blessed be the name of the Lord. In all this Job sinned not,' &c. 4thly. We have since our confinement tasted a greater sweetness in the promises of the Lord than formerly; and particularly these places following, we have sweet experience of, and we can truly say by experience, 'That faithful is he that hath thus promised, for he hath also done it: it is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes.' Phil. iv. 19. 1 Pet. v. 7. Deut. xxxiii. 25. We are also brought by the power of his grace to a more watchful

* Jortin's Remarks on Ecclesiastical History, vol. 3. p. 217. 1751.

frame over our hearts, thoughts, and actions, by these trials than formerly. One thing had almost slipped our memory, the knowledge of which will, we hope, rejoice our hearts; that our relations, that are precious to the Lord and to us, bear this our suffering with incomparable patience, rather singing for joy, than weeping for grief. Also our societies, from whence we were taken, are exceeding cheerful, and a very lively spirit of faith and prayer is amongst them; and their meetings rather increase than otherwise. Sure, 'That the Lord is near, his wondrous works declare; for the singing of birds is come, and the turtle is heard in our land.' And now, brethren, forasmuch as the mercies expected and prayed for by us, are to be enjoyed in the way of righteousness, it greatly concerns us, that we cry mightily to the Lord, as did his servant of old. Isa. lxii. 1. Then shall we have that new name which God will give us, which is expressed in the last verse of that chapter. Now the God of all peace fill you with peace and joy in believing; so pray your brethren through grace."*

In the spirit of these pious sufferers, one whose property was seized, told those who took distress, "he never sold any thing to so great advantage, for this would bring him a hundred-fold." And another on goods from his shop to the value of 50*s.* being seized for a fine of 30*s.* assured them, "that he parted as willingly with them as with any goods he ever sold."†

When Mr. John James was brought to the bar to receive sentence, he was asked what he had to say for himself, why sentence of death should not be passed upon him. In a manner very expressive of pious submission and fortitude, he answered: "That he had not much to say, only two or three scriptures he would leave with them." The first scripture was Jer. xxvi. 14, 15. "As for me, do as seemeth good unto you. But know ye for certain, that if ye put me to death, ye shall surely bring innocent blood upon yourselves, and upon this city, and upon the inhabitants thereof." The second scripture was Psalm cxvi. 15. "Precious in the sight of the Lord, is the death of his saints." He also reminded them of that good word of the Lord: "He that toucheth the Lord's people, toucheth the apple of his eye."

* Crosby, vol. 2. p. 93—95. † Ibid. p. 249.

The deportment of Mr. Keach, when he stood in the pillory at Aylesbury, was singularly serious, devout, and undaunted. To his friends, who accompanied him, expressing their sense of his sufferings, he said, with a cheerful countenance, "The cross is the way to the crown." When his head and hands were fixed, he addressed the spectators to this effect: "Good people, I am not ashamed to stand here this day, with this paper on my head. My Lord Jesus was not ashamed to suffer on the cross for me, and it is for his cause that I am made a gazing-stock. Take notice, it is not for any wickedness that I stand here; but for writing and publishing his truths, which the Spirit of the Lord hath revealed in the Holy Scriptures. It is no new thing for the servants of the Lord to suffer and to be made a gazing-stock; and you that are acquainted with the Scriptures know, that the way to the crown is by the cross. The apostle saith, 'that through many tribulations, we must enter into the kingdom of heaven:' and Christ saith, 'He that is ashamed of me and my words, in an adulterous and sinful generation, of him shall the Son of man be ashamed, before the Father, and before the holy angels.'" After frequent interruptions from the jailer and standing sometime silent, disengaging one of his hands, he pulled his Bible out of his pocket, and held it up to the people, saying: "Take notice, that the things which I have written and published, and for which I stand here this day a spectacle to men and angels, are all contained in this book, as I could prove out of the same, if I had opportunity." The jailer took it from him, and fastened up his hand again: but it was almost impossible to keep him from speaking; saying, "It seems I cannot be suffered to speak to the cause for which I stand here; neither could I be suffered the other day (viz. on his trial): but it will plead its own innocency, when the strongest of its opposers shall be ashamed. I do not speak this out of prejudice to any person, but do sincerely desire, that the Lord would convert them, and convince them of their errors, that their souls may be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus. Good people, the concernment of souls is very great; so great, that Christ died for them. And, truly, a concernment for souls was that which moved me to write and publish those things for which I now suffer, and for which I could suffer far greater things than these. It con-

cerns you therefore to be very careful, otherwise it will be very sad with you, at the revelation of the Lord Jesus from heaven, for we must all appear before his tribunal." Here he was interrupted, but after some time he again ventured to break silence. "I hope (said he) the Lord's people will not be discouraged at my sufferings. Oh! did you but experience the great love of God, and the excellences that are in him, it would make you willing to go through any sufferings for his sake. And I do account this the greatest honour that ever the Lord was pleased to confer upon me." He was not suffered to speak much more after this, and the officers were commanded to keep the spectators at a greater distance from him. He found an opportunity however to say at one time, "This is one yoke of Christ, which I can experience is easy to me, and a burden which he doth make light;" and to utter also this sentence, "Blessed are they that are persecuted for righteousness' sake, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven." When the time for his standing was expired, and his head and hands were at liberty, he blessed God, with a loud voice, for his great goodness unto him.*

Such sentiments, such a spirit expressed in the moment of suffering, it may be supposed, would disarm the rage of some, and possess the minds of many in favour of the pious sufferer. But the Baptists did not leave their principles to the recommendation and support, which the conduct and temper of those who, in the profession of them endured cruel trials, might afford. They adopted every method of softening prejudice and conciliating regard, by addresses from the press, and applications to the throne. With this view they published, in 1660, A Brief Confession or Declaration, to inform all men of their innocent belief and practice. It was owned and approved by more than twenty thousand. This was presented to his majesty, and met with his approbation. It was reprinted at London in 1691.† Petitions also, as we have noticed, were in this year delivered to the king, representing their pacific principles, and imploring his protection.‡ Three persons, of this denomination, about this time published a declaration of their sentiments concerning opposing magistracy, in which they advanced

* Crosby, vol. 2. p. 204—208. † Ibid. vol. 2. p. 18; and Appendix, no. 4.
‡ Crosby, p. 19—26.

principles to which the most zealous advocates for passive obedience and nonresistance could not object: professing that in such instances wherein they could not in conscience obey, they ought "not to resist them, but patiently suffer whatever they should inflict for non-obedience to their requirements."* The persons who signed this declaration apologize for their paucity, and seemed not pleased with their brethren, because they were not of their judgment on this point. But their difference in opinion from other Baptists shews, that a uniformity of sentiment concerning the extent of the magistrate's authority and the right of resistance, had no necessary and direct connexion with an agreement on the questions concerning baptism. In the year 1661, the hardships under which many of this profession groaned, again excited them to seek mercy from the higher powers. A petition was presented to the king, on behalf of themselves and others, from some confined in the prison at Dover, and another to the duke of York; describing their great sufferings, protesting that innocence was found in them, and that against the king and his government they had done no harm, soliciting, with much importunity to be set at liberty, and that they might not be interrupted in their worship of the God of heaven, as they were taught it in his word, which they prized above all the world; and urging, that it might be considered, "how disagreeable it is with Christianity, to bring tribulation upon any for conscience' sake, seeing all things in worship must be done in faith and love."†

But the application for redress of their grievances, which particularly deserves notice, was an address to the king, parliament, and people, in a treatise entitled, "Sion's groans for her distressed; or, Sober endeavours to prevent innocent blood," &c. This was not a petition only for toleration for themselves, but an able and spirited defence of the rights of conscience. Its design was to prove how contrary to the gospel "of the Lord Jesus, and to good reason, it is for any magistrate, by outward force, to impose any thing in the worship of God on the consciences of those whom they govern; but that liberty ought to be given to all such as disturb not the civil peace, though of different persuasions

* Crosby, vol. 2. p. 19. Appendix, no. 5. p. 93.
† Crosby, vol. 2. p. 165—160.

in religious matters." The question is handled on liberal principles, also with copiousness and strength. The spirit and the reasoning do honour to the people from whom it came; especially when it is recollected, that the assembly at Westminster, and the ministers of London and other parts, had from the pulpit and the press opposed the principles of toleration.

It is argued, that the power of directing conscience by outward force doth not attach itself to the office of magistracy itself, because then all magistrates in all nations have the same power; the Mahometan to enforce the reception of the Koran, the Spaniard to enjoin popery, and every succeeding magistrate to sanction his own religion, to the overthrow of what his predecessor established: because the apostles who command obedience to magistrates, in matters of religion, refused obedience; because all the Scriptures of the New Testament, enjoining obedience to magistrates, being written when the emperors were idolaters; such injunctions cannot be understood as applying to religion: because, if the commands of the magistrate in religious matters were obligatory, there could be no persecutions, and the way to heaven, so far from being strait and narrow, any might be a disciple of Christ without taking up the cross. And the conduct of Gallio, who declined interfering in a matter relative to God's law, and restrained the exercise of his authority to civil injuries only, is with great propriety appealed to, as a worthy example for the imitation of magistrates.

That the Christian magistrate, as such, has no power over conscience, nor authority to impose any thing in religion by outward force, is argued from the conduct of Christ Jesus, who never compelled men by force to receive his doctrine; from the conduct of the apostles, and the elders of the primitive church, who disclaimed any such power. 1 Cor. i. 24. Matt. xx. 25. 1 Pet. v. 2, 3. "Why therefore (say the authors of this piece) the Christian religion should be built and supported by violence, when the foundation was laid, and the work carried on during all the apostles' days, and some hundred years after, by a quite contrary means, is a question should be resolved by those whose strongest arguments for the support of their religion is, Take him, jailer. For such is the difference between the

way which the apostles and primitive saints took, in carrying on the work of the gospel, and approving themselves to be the ministers of God, and the way now used by the national clergy, than which nothing is more unlike." In the prosecution of their argument, they reason forcibly from the parable of the tares and wheat, as forbidding any outward force or violence to be used upon false worshippers and heretics as such. "Hath the magistrate (it is asked) power to remove those out of the world, that God would have permitted to live?" The fallibility of the magistrate furnishes another argument against the exercise of his power in religion; a fallibility which woful experience hath taught the world in all ages; the magistrate of one country establishing the principles and practices which that of another country condemns and persecutes; nay, the same magistrate, at different periods, reversing his own decrees; and now rejecting what he had just before defended by his pen, or supported by his laws: as was the case of Henry VIII. To this fallibility he is equally liable, whether he confide in his own wisdom, or rely on the authority of popes, synods, or general councils. This point is illustrated by various examples. As to national conventions and synods, so far are they from any show of infallibility, it is justly observed, "that the same complexion and temper the nation is of, wherein they are called, you shall be sure to find them of; because they have their dependency on the authority that calls them together." Among other arguments, it is stated, that for the magistrate to inflict temporal punishments upon any for not conforming to those decrees which enjoin any spiritual worship or service, is a breach of the royal law, "Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them." This is a rule which all sorts of men, whilst under persecution, are ready to receive and plead. Nor would they who are forward to persecute, be very zealous in their proceedings, if they were sure that those whom they persecute should have power on their sides, to "mete the same measure unto them." It is well observed, that such proceedings may sometimes prove inconsistent with the very being of nations. "For, suppose any nation were wholly heathen idolaters, and the word of God coming in amongst them should convert the chief-magistrate, and one-twentieth part of the nation more; must he then with

that twentieth part destroy all the other nineteen, if they will not be converted, but continue in their heathenish idolatry? It cannot possibly be supposed to be warrantable. And the reason holds good likewise against the rooting up and destroying heretics out of the world."

These just sentiments are followed by a full answer to the argument in favour of the magistrate's power in religious matters, drawn from the example of the kings of Israel and Judah. In reply to this, it is observed, that the power of those kings to punish idolaters and blasphemers was given them by God, and written in plain precepts in the Mosaical law; but hath the Lord Jesus invested magistrates with such power? if he have, where is it written? The Jews, all the time they kept to the law of God, had a standing oracle amongst them, the Urim and Thummim, and the councils of extraordinary prophets to assist them to judge righteous judgments. Besides, the gospel is a dispensation far different from the law in all its ordinances and administrations, under which the Lord Jesus is the only lawgiver.

Such is the strain of this piece: the importance of the subject, the force of the argument, and the liberality of the spirit, entitle it to particular notice; and will, it is presumed, make this review of it acceptable.* The authors of it, whose names are subscribed to the prefatory epistle, were, Thomas Monck, Joseph Wright, George Hammon, William Jeffery, Francis Stanley, William Reynolds, and Francis Smith. While they earnestly recommend their treatise to deliberate and serious perusal, our design, they say, "in what we beg may be perused, is general good, in setting at liberty that which God made free, even the conscience."

The only particulars I can find concerning these able advocates for liberty are, that Mr. Wright, born in 1623, was a physician: he was educated at the university, and was a man of great learning and piety; a serious and diligent preacher, and greatly promoted the cause of the Baptists. He was confined twenty years in the jail at Maidstone; in this town he died, aged eighty, in 1703.† Mr. George Hammon, eminent for the ardour and freedom with which he vindicated what he judged to be truth on all occasions,

* Mr. Crosby has preserved it entire in his History, vol. 2. p. 100—144.
† Crosby, vol. 3. p. 116.

and very much persecuted on that account, was pastor of a congregation at Biddendon in Kent; and died at Haseldenswood, in the parish of Cranbrook.* Mr. William Jeffery, born in 1616, of pious parents, in the parish of Penshurst, lived at Bradbourn, in Sevenoaks, Kent; where he and his brother were the great supporters, if not the founders, of a meeting. By his diligence, and that of several others, more than twenty congregations were formed in that county, on the principles laid down in Heb. vi. 1, 2, without entering on speculative and controverted points. As he was vigorous, unwearied, and successful, in his labours, so with great patience and pleasure he suffered much for his principles; these he also often defended in public disputations. He was much valued for his steady piety and universal virtue, and died in a good old age.† His son succeeded him in his church. Mr. Francis Stanley was a man noted for his zeal and piety, and was imprisoned for preaching in the jail of Northampton. Be bore his sufferings like a Christian, and died about the year 1696. He was a native of Northamptonshire, and was buried at East-Haddon, in that county.‡ Of the other persons Mr. Crosby gives no particular account.

In the same year in which appeared the piece on Toleration, there were published, a small piece entitled, "A Complaint of the Oppressed against Oppressors; or, the unjust and arbitrary proceedings of some soldiers and justices, against some sober, godly persons, in and near London, who now lie in stinking jails, for the testimony of a good conscience; with some reasons why they cannot swear allegiance to obtain their liberty:" and a tract, entitled, "A Plea for Toleration of Opinions and Persuasions in matters of Religion, differing from the church of England: humbly presented to the king's most excellent majesty: by Mr. John Sturgeon, a Baptist." The former was written by Dr. John Griffith, a worthy man, who suffered a long imprisonment in Newgate for nonconformity. Each piece was an affecting remonstrance on the unjust proceedings, by which many pious and innocent persons, of unblemished characters, in London, and in almost all the counties of England, were suffering; being taken out of their beds at midnight by soldiers, acting without warrant, and with drawn swords, to the great terror of their wives and children; and being

* Crosby, vol. 3. p. 103. † Ibid. p. 97, 98. ‡ Ibid. p. 127.

thrust into prisons, in such crowds that the jailers complained they had too many guests; and detained there to the ruin of their families.*

Mr. James Atkins, one of those who were harassed by the magistrates of Dover, on his own behalf, and in the cause of his fellow-sufferers, addressed a letter to the mayor and justices of that town, under the name of "a poor subject;" acknowledging a submission to the civil magistrate, except in what concerned the worship of God, and entreating in the bowels of love a consideration of the evil of restraining their liberty.†

In the year 1662, there came from the press a small pamphlet, entitled, "Behold a Cry; or, a true relation of the inhuman and violent outrages of divers soldiers, constables, and others, practised upon many of the Lord's people, commonly, though falsely, called Anabaptists, at their several meetings in and about London."

An incident which took place in Lincolnshire in 1670, called forth a vindication of their principles from this denomination in a different form from the preceding publications. Mr. Robert Wright, who had been a preacher amongst them, but was on account of his irregular life and conversation excluded their society, having spent his estate, applied to Dr. William Fuller, the bishop of that diocess, for orders and a benefice; promising to renounce his sentiments concerning baptism, and to preach against the Baptists. The bishop accepted his offer; he was admitted in the ministry of the church of England, and preached in support of the baptism of infants, in opposition to that of believers, with great ardour and confidence. This excited great attention, the minds of many were much impressed by it, and it was supposed that most, if not all the ministers of the Baptist churches, would be easily confuted. They, in their own vindication, at the assizes, posted up, in different parts of the city of Lincoln, four papers, addressed to the citizens and inhabitants, inviting Mr. Wright to a friendly conference, and offering to maintain the doctrine and baptism of repentance to be from heaven, and the sprinkling and crossing of infants to be man's tradition. They were dated the 11th day of the first month, (vulg.) March, 1670. Two of them were taken down in the morning, and were, it was

* Crosby, vol. 2. p. 144—148; and vol. 3. p. 120. † Ibid. vol. 2. p. 151, 152.

supposed, carried to the bishop and the judge. The other two were permitted to remain till the afternoon, and were read by many, till they were removed by the clergy, who threatened the writers of them should answer for it before the council-table. But though the bishop, it was well known, was not a little moved by these proceedings of the Baptists, no other step was taken on the occasion, than sending to them an angry paper, drawn up by Mr. William Silverton, the bishop's chaplain, who called them erroneous, antic Baptists. To this paper Mr. Grantham replied, promising Mr. Silverton either to hear and discuss his arguments in a free audience, if he would fix a convenient time and place for the purpose; or to reply to him, if he would defend his sentiments from the press. Here the matter ended, as Mr. Silverton saw fit to be silent.*

The only publication which remains to be noticed in this period, was, "A narrative of the late proceedings of some justices and others, pretending to put in execution the late act against conventicles; against several peaceable people in and about the town of Lewes in Sussex, only for their being quietly met to worship God: together with a brief account of the like proceedings against some at Brighthelmstone, and others at Chillington, in the same county." This professed to be a faithful narrative, published with a view to encourage others to suffer the spoiling of their goods by the example of many, who endured it with patience and joyfulness; and with the hope, that by it the harsh proceedings against a peaceable people, might come to the knowledge of some in authority, who, out of pity to the distressed, and justice to their righteous cause, would redress their grievances.† Such narratives were indeed well adapted to each purpose, and were an affecting appeal to the sense of humanity and equity.

CHAP. V.

FROM THE DECLARATION OF INDULGENCE TO THE REVOLUTION.

A CONTROVERSY arose among the Baptists, about this time, respecting the laying on of hands, which created not a little

* Crosby, vol. 2. p. 241—244. † Ibid. vol. 2. p. 245, 246.

altercation and trouble. Hitherto, it appears that this rite was practised by them as an apostolical ordinance, and was accompanied with prayer over the newly-baptized. A treatise, entitled "A Search after Schism," was published in opposition to it. This was answered by Dr. John Griffith, in a piece called, "The Searchers after Schism searched," and it drew from Mr. Grantham his "Sigh for Peace; or, the Cause of Division discovered." The appearance of this piece occasioned a meeting between Mr. Grantham and Mr. Ives, when the subject was debated with temper and good-humour; and Mr. Ives is reported, on finding himself gravelled, to have broken up the meeting in a friendly and peaceable manner. About three years after, Mr. Danvers published a treatise against laying on of hands, which was answered by Mr. Benjamin Keach, and also by Mr. Grantham, who annexed to his answer, "A Treatise of the Successors of the Apostles."

In 1674, the Baptists were engaged in a controversy with the Quakers, which created a noise, and was conducted, as is usual, by mutual criminations. Mr. Thomas Hicks, a minister of the former, published several pamphlets in succession, under the title of "A Dialogue between a Christian and a Quaker." The title these pieces bore was certainly invidious, and held up the Quakers as not deserving to be ranked among Christians. It was also complained of, that the design of them was not so much to investigate truth, as to represent the Quaker a deformed, ridiculous, and erroneous being. The great Penn, on this occasion, became the advocate of the people to whom he had joined himself, in two books; the first entitled, "Reason against Railing;" and the other, "The Counterfeit Christian detected." But as Mr. Hicks had reflected upon some particular members by name, an appeal was made to the Baptists, in and about London, for justice against him. A meeting was accordingly appointed to hear the charges against him; but they are censured for fixing the time when the complainants, Penn and Whitehead, were absent from the city at a distance too remote to be apprized of the intended meeting. It was urged in defence of the Baptists, that they were informed that Penn was not far from London several days after the notice of the meeting was sent, and even at his own house at no great distance from the town the very day

preceding: and that they had invited others of the society, particularly John Osgoods, to be present, who declined it. The meeting took place, and Mr. Hicks was examined by his own friends only on the charges brought against him by the Quakers; and he endeavoured to establish the representations he had made of their principles and doctrines by quotations from their own writers. These were pronounced by nineteen of his own denomination to be truly recited, and the church to which he belonged, in public print, cleared him from the charge which the Quakers alleged against him. This decision was deemed partial. On the face of it, though the business was said to be conducted with great fairness, it was open to objection. The Baptists refused to defer the meeting, though solicited. No Quaker was present to be heard on the grounds of the charges. And though the passages might be quoted with verbal exactness, which Mr. Hicks brought as his authorities, yet they were detached from their connexion, and a meaning affixed to them which probably the writers, if they had been there to explain themselves, would not have admitted as their sense. New complaints were brought forward against the Baptists; and justice again demanded. A meeting for a rehearing was obtained; but Mr. Hicks would not attend it, but sent some others with Mr. Ives; "who (says Crosby) so managed the Quakers, that they were obliged to break up without any farther proceedings in the matter." "By clamours and rudeness (says Gough), they diverted the complainants from prosecuting the charge against Hicks, and carried their point so far as to prevent its being heard, though frequent attempts were made to read it."

The Baptists published an account of these meetings, under the title of "A Contest for Christianity." Mr. Tho. Welwood, in behalf of his friends, appealed to the public, first in a single sheet, entitled, "A fresh Pursuit;" and then, in reply to the "Contest," which was written by Mr. Thomas Plant, in a piece entitled, "Forgery no Christianity." The issue of this controversy is represented, on the one hand, to be, that the Quakers were so chafed in these disputes, that they did not only brand the Baptists with infamy, but denounced curses and judgments upon them. On the other side it is said, "that the aim of this un-

provoked assault upon the principles and reputation of this society was remarkably frustrated; and these dialogues, with their ungenerous and unequitable method of defending them and their author, promoted what they were designed to prevent; for not a few of their members, offended at their proceedings, deserted their meetings and society, went over to the injured party, and joined them in religious fellowship."*

In the year 1677, the Baptists published "A Confession of their Faith, set forth by the elders and brethren of many congregations of Christians, baptized upon profession of their faith, in London and the country." Their avowed design in this publication was, not only to give an account of themselves on the points wherein they differed from other Christians, but also to instruct and establish others in the great principles in which there was a mutual agreement between them. They aimed to express themselves, on the former heads, with a modesty and humility that would render the freedom with which they declared themselves inoffensive to those whose sentiments were different from their own. The general plan of their confession was after the order and method observed in that of the assembly of Westminster, and afterward adopted by the congregational churches; and in the margin they affixed such texts as, in their opinion, confirmed each article. Two things they earnestly desired: that full credit might be given to their declaration of contention being most remote from their design in all that they did in this matter; and that all into whose hands this piece might come "would follow that never-enough-commended example of the noble Bereans, who searched the Scriptures daily, that they might find out whether the things preached to them, were so or not." This Confession of Faith was reprinted in the year 1689; and was approved and recommended by the ministers and messengers of above a hundred congregations, met in London from the third to the eleventh day of the seventh month. It was signed by thirty-seven persons, in the name and behalf of the whole assembly. It has continued to be generally received by those congregations that hold the doctrine

* Crosby's History of the English Baptists, vol. 2. p. 294—310. Gough's History of the Quakers, vol. 2. p. 368—371.

of personal election, and the certainty of the saints' final perseverance.* In 1790 it was reprinted by Dr. John Rippon, with a list of the thirty-seven ministers who recommended it; and to this edition were added the places where they all laboured. In 1791, there appeared a new edition of the translation of it in Welsh, revised by the Reverend Joshua Thomas, of Leominster.† The first edition, besides an introductory advertisement to the judicious "and impartial reader," was accompanied by an Appendix; a judicious, candid, and conciliating piece; in which they discuss the arguments alleged against their distinguishing sentiment and practice, and give the reasons, with brevity and plainness, why they could not acquiesce in them.‡

This denomination now greatly increased. Their arguments weighed with many; their exemplary lives spoke in their favour: but the number of their converts excited against them a spirit of jealousy and resentment, and they were the objects of clamour and defamation. Many books were published, misrepresenting them, and their chiefs were reproached, as Jesuits and heretics. This induced them to publish many confessions of faith; some in vindication of particular churches, others of particular persons. In 1678 one was agreed to, and signed by fifty ministers and messengers in the several counties of Bucks, Hertford, Bedford, and Oxford, in behalf of themselves and many others, containing fifty articles. It was soon published under the title of "An Orthodox Creed; or, a Protestant Confession of Faith; being an essay to unite and confirm all true Protestants in the fundamental articles of the Christian religion, against the errors and heresies of the church of Rome."§ As the Baptists consisted of two parties, distinguished by the names General and Particular, when one published a declaration of their principles, the other soon after did the same.‖

In this period may be placed several who made a distinguished figure as ministers among the Baptists, the time of whose deaths is not ascertained.

The first was Mr. William Dell, A. M. famous in the time of the civil wars: he received his education at the univer-

* Crosby, vol. 2. p. 317; vol. 3. p. 258; and Appendix, No. 2.
† Rippon's Baptist Annual Register, p. 124. 191.
‡ See it at length in Crosby, vol. 2. p. 317—344.
§ Crosby, vol. 3. Appendix, No. 1. ‖ Ibid. vol. 2. p. 341, 345.

sity of Cambridge, and held the living of Yeldon in the county of Bedford, worth about 200*l.* a year. About the year 1645 he became chaplain to the army, constantly attending sir Thomas Fairfax, and preaching at the head-quarters. In 1649, when several were turned out of the universities for refusing to take the oaths to the government, he was made master of Caius-college at Cambridge, which preferment he held with his living at Yeldon, till he was ejected by the act of uniformity. Party prejudice fixed on his memory the charge of glaring contradictions, and inconsistencies of conduct, from which more candid posterity has vindicated him. The fact was, that he was at first satisfied with episcopacy and the ceremonies; but when the change in the state brought on a reformation in religion, he was one of the first and most zealous to promote it, and would have carried it farther than was agreeable to the principles and views of many others. He was obnoxious to the rigid Presbyterians, whose attempts to monopolize all power, in civil and ecclesiastical affairs, he opposed. A sermon at Marston occasioned him much trouble, and another on a fast-day, before the house of commons, led him into a controversy with Mr. C. Love, who opposed him in the afternoon of the same day: they thus were made the heads and champions of the two contending parties of the nation. Mr. Love justified the punishing of heretics and schismatics, and vindicated the authority of the civil magistrate, in imposing articles of faith and a form of worship; in a word, pleaded for persecution. Mr. Dell was the advocate of liberty: he preached against making a whole kingdom a church; he thought that no power belonged to the clergy but what is spiritual; he protested against blending the civil and the ecclesiastical power together, as the constant method of setting up a spiritual tyranny; he pleaded that all persons ought to have liberty to worship God in the manner they think most agreeable to his word; and argued, that the imposition of uniformity and all compulsion in matters of religion were antichristian. These principles created him enemies, who blackened his character by odious names. But, though he was tinctured with the enthusiasm of the time, he was a man of substantial learning, of real piety, and a noble defender of the rights of conscience. Besides several sermons and a tract written in this cause,

he was the author of a tract in quarto, 1648, entitled, "The Doctrine of Baptism reduced from its ancient and modern corruptions."*

Another person of note was Mr. Francis Cornwell, M. A. who was sometime student of Emanuel-college, Cambridge, and commenced master of arts in that university. When he left it, he was preferred to a living in the established church; and, at the beginning of the civil wars, was minister at Orpington, in Kent. In the reign of Charles I. he was imprisoned for nonconformity, refusing to wear the surplice, to kneel at the sacrament, and to use the sign of the cross in baptism. His companion in Maidstone jail was Mr. Wilson, of Otham, near that town. Among the visitors who came to see them was a woman, who had some doubts in her mind whether the baptism of infants could be proved from Scripture. Mr. Cornwell endeavoured, by the best scriptural arguments he could produce, to resolve her doubts, but found he could not do it so well to her or his own satisfaction as he could wish. When his visitant had left him, he conversed on the subject with his fellow-prisoner Mr. Wilson, who assured him he never thought that infant-baptism could be proved from Scripture, but had its authority from human tradition, being handed down from primitive times as a practice generally received from the church. Mr. Cornwell, taking the Scriptures to be the only rule of faith, and considering that on this principle alone all the Protestant churches vindicated their separation from the church of Rome against all her impositions, founded on pretended primitive antiquity, was induced to make a more diligent search. The result was, that infant-baptism did not appear to him to derive its authority from the Scriptures, but to have had its dependance, in all ages, on the decrees, canons, and councils, of the church. Entering into these views of the subject, he relinquished the doctrine of of infants' baptism, and adopted the opinion of those who think that believers only, making profession of their faith and repentance, are the proper subjects of this institution.† In 1643, he publicly avowed this principle, and wrote in defence of it a tract, entitled "The Vindication of the Royal

* Crosby, vol. 1. p. 323—333. Palmer's Nonconformists' Memorial, vol. 1. p. 201, and p. 225, note.

† Mr. Thompson's Collections, MSS, under the words Staplehurst and Smarden.

Commission of Jesus." After the publication of this book, he went on to preach and propagate his opinion. In 1644, in a visitation-sermon preached at Cranbrook in Kent, from Mark vii. 7, before the ministers of those parts, he took the liberty of freely declaring his sentiments, and asserted, that pædobaptism was an antichristian innovation, a human tradition, and a practice for which there was neither precept, or example, or true deduction, from the word of God. This, as might be expected, much startled the clergy who were present, but greatly offended several of them. The matter was debated between them, and the argument in support of antipædobaptism was strongly pushed by Mr. William Jeffery of Sevenoaks, who had baptized Mr. Cornwell, and to whom he had referred them, till Mr. Christopher Blackwood, one of the ministers, desired them to desist at that time, for he had taken down the sermon in short-hand, and would return an answer in print, which he hoped might be to the satisfaction of them all.* His advice was adopted; it was agreed to postpone, for the present, the discussion of the question, to re-examine the point, and to bring their collections together at the next meeting, which was to be within a fortnight. In the mean time Mr. Blackwood studied the question with great diligence and close attention. The impression made on his mind was very different from what was anticipated. He began to suspect that infant-baptism was no more than a human tradition, and was attended with evil consequences; and, when they met, he brought in his arguments against it. As no one produced any defence, one properly observing, that they sought for truth and not victory, proposed, that Mr. Blackwood's papers should be left with them for examination; to this motion he acceded: but when, after waiting a long time, no answer was given to his arguments, he sent for his papers, and published them with corrections and enlargements. Thus the controversy was revived in the county of Kent, and the sentiments of the Baptists gained ground. Mr. Cornwell soon after this withdrew from the national church, for he disapproved both of national and parochial churches; and taught that a church was to consist of such only as professed repentance from dead works, and faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, and were baptized according to his com-

* Mr. Thompson's Collections, MSS.

mands, after the pattern of the first churches in Judea. He quickly gathered a church in Kent, formed on this plan, of which he was pastor to the day of his death, and was succeeded in that place and office by his son. It reflects honour on Mr. Cornwell's name and memory, that he was a zealous opposer of persecution and an imposed uniformity. He wrote against the ordinance of parliament made to silence all lay-preachers, that is, such as had not received episcopal or presbyterian ordination, or who should preach any thing contrary to the articles of faith and directory for public worship, set forth by the assembly. The piece which he published on this occasion was entitled, "Two Queries worthy of Consideration."

Q. 1. Whether that ministry that preacheth freely the gospel-faith, that the Lord Jesus is the Christ, as the apostle Peter did, be not truly orthodox?

Q. 2. Whether it be agreeable to the word of God, contained in the sacred Scriptures, to silence or inhibit any ministers of Jesus Christ for preaching this gospel freely?

He affirmed the former, and maintained it by several arguments; the latter he denied; and intimated, that they who were guilty of such practices acted like the Jews of old, who cast the blind man out of the temple, for confessing that Jesus was the Christ.*

In close connexion with Mr. Cornwell's history stands, as we have seen, that of Mr. Blackwood, who, in consequence of his visitation-sermon, became a proselyte to believers' baptism, and with Mr. Richard Kingsnorth, who likewise was convinced by it, gathered a church at Staplehurst in Kent; but his sentiments being Calvinistic, and contrary to those of the society, he afterward left it under the pastoral care of Mr. Kingsnorth, who held universal redemption and final perseverance.† Mr. Blackwood was possessed, at the beginning of the civil wars, of a parochial church in the county of Kent; from whence it is probable that he was educated at one of the universities After he changed his sentiments on the questions concerning baptism, he did not continue long in the established church; for he was as zealous against national churches as against infant-baptism. He was an advocate for liberty of conscience, and opposed

* Crosby, vol. 1. p. 334—339; and vol. 3. p. 6—9.
† Thompson's Collections, MSS.

the establishment of presbyterianism. In the first piece he published, he joined together infant-baptism and compulsion of conscience, and called them "the two last and strongest garrisons of antichrist." He was reckoned among "those worthy guides, well qualified in all respects for the ministry," who voluntarily left their benefices in the establishment, by one who lived in those times. He appears, in 1653, to have gone into Ireland with the army under the command of general Fleetwood and lieutenant Ludlow. He lived till after the Restoration, and signed the apology of the Baptists in 1660, declaring against Venner's insurrection.

Another, who was reckoned among the worthies of this denomination at this period, was Mr. Benjamin Cox, who made no mean figure in his time. He was the son of a bishop,* was a man of great learning, and a graduate in one of the universities. He was, for some time a minister in the established church, had a parochial charge in the county of Devon, and was very zealous for the superstitious ceremonies that prevailed in bishop Laud's time. But when the affairs of state led men to think more freely in matters of religion, Mr. Cox was among the first in promoting a reformation, and had before him flattering prospects of eminence and preferment in this kingdom, when he rejected the baptism of infants, as it appeared to him not founded in the Scriptures; but this obstructed his advancement in the established church, and prejudiced against him the divines who were at the head of ecclesiastical affairs. He preserved, however, the character of a man of abilities and great learning. After episcopacy and the common-prayer were laid aside, he was for some time minister at Bedford. In 1645 he came to London, and was one of the principal managers on the part of the Baptists in a public dispute concerning infant-baptism, at Aldermanbury-church, to which a stop was afterward put by the government. In the year 1646, when seven churches in London, called Anabaptists, published a confession of their faith, and presented it to parliament, his name, in behalf of one of those congregations, was subscribed to it. Though, when the act of

* It seems more probable that he was the grandson of one, as Dr. Richard Cox, bishop of Ely, who filled that see twenty years, died in 1580. Richardson de Præsulibus.

Uniformity, in 1662, took place, he at first conformed; yet his conscience soon after upbraiding him for that step, he obeyed its dictates by throwing up his living, and died a Nonconformist and a Baptist, in a very advanced age; for Mr. Baxter, with whom he had a dispute by word of mouth and by writing, called him, at the beginning of the civil wars, an ancient minister. He suffered imprisonment for his opinions concerning baptism in the city of Coventry.*

Here is a proper place for observing, that at the Restoration, several parishes were found to have Baptist ministers fixed in them. The cause of this was, that in the year 1653, when a certain number of men called triers were authorized to examine and approve candidates for the ministry, Mr. Tombes, notwithstanding his difference in opinion from the rest, such was the estimation in which his character was held, was appointed to be one of them. Among other good effects that followed upon this, one was, that the commissioners agreed to own the Baptists their brethren; and that if any such applied to them for probation, and appeared in other respects duly qualified, they should not be rejected for holding their sentiments.†

The history of the Baptists, from the accession of James II. to the Revolution, is confined to some brief accounts of the sufferings and characters of several ministers who were in estimation among them, and died in this period.

But we should first mention one, whose name should have been introduced in the preceding reign; Mr. Abraham Chear, a native of Plymouth, who, though he did not enjoy a liberal education, knew the Scriptures from his childhood, and delighted in searching them. About 1648 he was baptized, and joined the Baptist church in that town, and was soon after invited to be their pastor, for which character he was fitted by peculiar gifts and graces. In 1661 he suffered three months' imprisonment in Exeter jail, on the conventicle act. In 1662 he was again cast into that prison; after his release he was imprisoned at the Guildhall in Plymouth; then, after a month's detention, he was confined, under military guard, in the isle of Plymouth; where, after full five years' imprisonment in different jails, and enduring many inhumanities from merciless jailers, he yielded up his spirit

* Crosby, vol. 1. p. 353, 354. † Ibid. p. 289.

without pang or considerable groan, the 5th of March, 1668. At his death the church consisted of one hundred and fifty members. After this the persecution broke out with greater fury, and it suffered much till king James's declaration for liberty of conscience revived their drooping spirits, and were almost twenty years destitute of a pastor. Mr. Chear was a laborious and successful preacher. In his confinement he wrote several religious tracts, and letters to his friends full of Christian exhortations to constancy and steadfastness. One of these, an acknowledgment of some provisions sent to him and his fellow-prisoners, most expressive of cheerfulness in their sufferings and gratitude to their benefactors, is preserved by Crosby. During his illness, almost to his last moment, he continued glorifying God, and exhorting all who visited him to perseverance in those perilous times; speaking with earnest concern about the guilt contracted in these nations by persecuting God's faithful servants; and with great joy and assurance concerning the delight which God takes in his suffering saints, and the ample recompense he will hereafter render for their present sorrows; particularly on the Lord's day preceding his dissolution. About three hours before it, a friend perceiving him under great pressures, said softly to him, "They looked unto the Lord, and were lightened: a right look will bring down relief under all difficulties." "Yea (he replied, with great strength and earnestness), and their faces were not ashamed."*

In the reign of James II. died, at Kelby in Leicestershire, where he was minister of a Baptist congregation, Mr. Richard Farmer, the friend of Mr. Clarke and Mr. Shuttleworth, eminent ejected ministers in that county. He was a hard student and an affecting preacher, and frequently officiated among the Independents. He had a small estate to live upon, in which he suffered greatly for his religious principles, as distress was made by virtue of a justice's warrant upon his goods; and they took from him, in one year, to the value of 110*l.*†

Another, who suffered much in this period for his nonconformity, and was several times prisoner at York, at

* Thompson's Collections, MSS. and Crosby's History of the English Baptists, vol. 3. p. 11—24.

† Ibid. p. 118, 119.

Leeds, and at Chester, was Mr. Thomas Hardcastle, ejected from Bramham, in the county of York. He was born at Barwick upon Holm, and received his education under Mr. Jackson, of that town, a learned divine. He had not been long in the ministry, when the act of uniformity passed: he preached afterward at Shadwell chapel and other places. He was a man of pregnant parts, eminent learning and piety, of great moderation and catholicism, though of a bold spirit, which feared no danger. In 1671 he was, on the death of Mr. Ewins,* invited to be pastor of a congregation of Baptists, who had separated from the establishment early in 1640, though they continued their attendance at sermon, but not at the prayers, in the parish-church on the morning of every Lord's day, spending the afternoon and evening in religious exercises among themselves. Mr. Cann, the author of the marginal references to the Bible, preached adult baptism to them, and settled them in church-order, without making baptism a term of communion. On Mr. Hardcastle's settlement with them, they took four rooms on the Lamb pavement, Broadmead, and made them into one of sixteen yards long and fifteen broad. At Bristol he was sent to the house of correction; he died suddenly, 20th of August, 1678, universally lamented. He published one practical treatise.† He was succeeded by another ejected minister.

Mr. George Fownes, who settled with this society Sept. 16, 1679, finding the number of members, which amounted, when Mr. Hardcastle became their pastor, to a hundred, in-

* Mr. Ewins was ejected from a living in Bristol: though he was no scholar, and had been a mechanic, he was esteemed as a judicious, methodical preacher; was remarkable for his meekness, patience, and charity; in his ministerial duties he was popular, laborious, and successful, ready to preach on most days when not otherwise employed; grave and serious every where, and full of good discourse. He was so scrupulous about maintenance, that he would accept no tithes nor salary, but only free gifts. The bishop of Bristol invited him to conform, but he could by no means be satisfied to comply. When, in 1651, he was invited by the separatists at Bristol, to become their minister—he was a Pædobaptist. About 1654, he embraced the opinions of the Baptists, and was baptized in London. In 1660 the members of his society were turned out of the churches, and in 1662 he was ordained their pastor. He went through a variety of persecutions, and was often in prison, once for a whole year, when he preached twice a day. There he contracted a lethargic distemper, of which he died, aged about sixty, in April 1670, greatly lamented. He was buried in St. James's church-yard, April 29, and a vast concourse of people attended his funeral. He was sometimes abused in the streets, but would not attempt to retaliate; for he said "Vengeance is God's; my duty is patience." Palmer's Nonconformists' Memorial, vol. 2. p. 351; and Thompson's Collections, MSS.

† Thompson's Collections, MSS. Crosby, vol. 3. p. 27, 28; and Palmer's Nonconformists' Memorial, vol. 2. p. 557.

creased to one hundred and sixty-six, of which thirty-one were Pædobaptists. Mr. Fownes was born in Shropshire, and received his classical education at Shrewsbury, where his grandson, the ingenious and learned Mr. Joseph Fownes, was for many years a dissenting minister. His father dying he was sent to Cambridge. He was an able preacher, and a man of great learning, and was conversant in law, physic, and other branches of science. He voluntarily quitted the parish-church before the Restoration, though he continued preaching in different places till he fixed at Bristol. About the time of what was called the Presbyterian plot, he was taken in the pulpit, and committed to Newgate; but by virtue of a flaw in the *mittimus*, he was in six weeks removed by a habeas corpus to the King's-bench, and acquitted. He was afterward apprehended on the highway in Kingswood, on suspicion of only coming from a meeting, and committed to Gloucester jail, for refusing the corporation-oath, and riding within five miles of a corporation: witnesses were suborned to swear a riot against him, though no other rioter was named in the bill; he pleaded his own cause very pleasantly; telling them, "that he and his horse could not be guilty of a riot without company;" and the jury brought in their verdict, Not guilty: yet he was returned back to prison; and refusing to give a bond for good behavour, of which he knew preaching would be interpreted to be a forfeiture, he was detained there for two years and a half, till God released him by death in December 1685. He was afflicted with the stone, and a physician declared "that his confinement was his death; and that it was no less murder than if they had run him through the first day he came in, and more cruel."*

Another eminent minister and writer among the Baptists at this time, was Mr. Henry D'Anvers, a worthy man, of unspotted life and conversation, a joint-elder of a Baptist congregation at Aldgate, London; and author of "A Treatise of Baptism," which drew him into a controversy with Mr. Wills, Mr. Blinman, and Mr. Baxter, in whose writings, if we may credit a letter published by Mr. D'Anvers, and sent to him by a person of quality, of known worth, ability, and moderation, "there were more heat,

* Palmer's Nonconformists' Memorial, vol. 1. p. 243, &c. Crosby, vol. 3. p. 28, 29; and Thompson's Collections, MSS.

passion, and personal reflections, than of reason, or a sober inquisition of truth." Mr. D'Anvers was descended from honourable parents, his father being a gentleman who had an estate of 400*l.* a year; he himself was governor of Stafford and a justice of peace, some time before Oliver's usurpation, and well beloved by the people. He was noted for one who would take no bribes. At Stafford he first embraced the opinions of the Baptists.*

In 1687, May 14th, died Mr. Thomas Wilcox, minister of a congregation, which met previous to the plague at his own house in Cannon-street; but afterward at the Three Cranes in the Borough, Southwark; and author of a popular little piece, which has been frequently reprinted, entitled, "A Drop of Honey from the Rock Christ." He was born at Linden, in the county of Rutland, August 1622; was several times confined in Newgate for nonconformity, and suffered very much. He was a moderate man, and of catholic principles, well beloved by all denominations, and frequently preached among the Presbyterians and Independents.

October 3, 1687, died, aged *fifty-three*, Mr. John Gosnold, who had been a scholar at the Charterhouse, and a student at Pembroke-hall, Cambridge, a man of great learning and piety: a pious practical preacher, of singular modesty and moderation; intimately acquainted with Tillotson, whose weekly lecture he used to attend, and was much esteemed and valued by other men of note and dignity in the established church, who kept up a correspondence with him. He was educated for the pulpit in the establishment, but by the act of uniformity made incapable of any settlement in it. He was chaplain to lord Grey. Having joined the Baptists, he was chosen pastor of a congregation at Barbican, in London; and was one of the ministers who subscribed the apology presented to Charles II. on occasion of Venner's conspiracy. Though he was always peaceably minded, he was often forced to conceal himself. His flock held him in great respect, and his preaching was so popular as to draw after him people of all denominations. His audience was usually computed to be near three thousand; and among them very often six or seven clergymen in their gowns, who sat in a convenient place, under a large gallery,

* Crosby, vol. 3. p. 90.

where they were seen by few. The number of his auditors, and the figure which some of them made, occasioned, after the fire of London, an application from the officers of the parish of Cripplegate to request a collection for the poor, who abounded in that parish. The request was complied with, upwards of 50*l.* was raised, and the church voluntarily continued the collection for above twenty years. His publications were, a small treatise entitled, "The Doctrine of Baptism;" and another concerning "the laying on of hands." He was buried in Bunhill-fields, with this simple inscription:

"Here lieth the body of Mr. John Gosnold, a faithful minister of the gospel, who departed this life October the 3d, 1678, and in the fifty-third year of his age."

HISTORY OF THE QUAKERS.

CHAPTER I.

FROM THE PROTECTORSHIP OF CROMWELL TO THE DECLARATION OF INDULGENCES, 1674.

MR. NEAL has allowed a few pages only to the History of the Quakers: and they are chiefly spent on the wild extravagances and sufferings of James Naylor. But the lot of this people, while other sectarists breathed a freer air under the protectorship of Cromwell, was peculiarly hard and afflictive. The change of government, on his taking the reins, produced no revolution in their favour; but their sufferings continued to increase with the increase of their numbers. The subordinate magistrates were continued in office; and the ecclesiastics, their former persecutors, retained power to be troublesome to them. The protector has been represented as the friend of religious liberty; and so, in some instances, he certainly shewed himself; but the Quakers derived little benefit from his liberal views and regard to the rights of conscience. For, though he himself did not openly disturb them on account of their religious opinions and practices; yet those who acted under his authority grievously persecuted them, and he gave little or no check to their intolerance, although he had the power, and was repeatedly and earnestly solicited to do it. The dominant parties had imbibed a spirit of hatred and animosity against this people: and the protector, it is supposed, might be fearful of disobliging them, by animadverting on their oppressive measures: or he might consider the Quakers as too contemptible or too pacific a body to fear any danger from, even under the greatest provocations.*

To give some colour of law to the severities practised against them, pretexts were drawn from supposed violations

* Gough's History of the Quakers, vol. 1. p. 132. 198.

of the regulations of civil policy. "A Christian exhortation to an assembly, after the priest had done and the worship was over, was denominated interrupting public worship, and disturbing the priest in his office: an honest testimony against sin in the streets or markets, was styled a breach of the peace: and their appearing before the magistrates covered, a contempt of authority: hence proceeded fines, imprisonments, and spoiling of goods. Nay, so hot for persecution were some magistrates, that by an unparalleled misconstruction of the law against vagrants, they tortured with cruel whippings the bodies of both men and women of good estate and reputation, merely because they went under the denomination of Quakers."*

In 1656, Henry Clifton, only riding through Upwell in Cambridgeshire, after having been carried before two justices, was sent to prison, where he lay a considerable time in the dungeon among condemned felons. Richard Hubberthorn and Richard Weaver, travelling from home to pay a friendly visit to Ann Blakely, who was, for her open testimony against the sins of the times, imprisoned at Cambridge, were also committed to prison. Thomas Curtis, a woollen-draper of Reading, going to Plymouth on business, and from thence to West-Alvington, accompanied by John Martindale, were both cast, as vagrants, into Exeter jail; and at the ensuing assizes brought before the judge, where nothing was laid to their charge. But, for not taking off their hats, they were fined 40*l.* each for contempt, and for nonpayment detained above a year in prison. During this term, Martindale, having obtained leave of the jailer to visit a friend at Ilchester, went to a meeting at Colyton; where he, Humphrey Sprague, and Thomas Dyer, lodging at a friend's house, were apprehended by a warrant, and carried before the justices at the quarter-sessions at Honiton; and, though one of them was but two, and another but five miles from home, were sentenced, as vagrants, to be whipped in the market-place, and sent with a pass from tithing to tithing; which was accordingly done. George Whitehead, a virtuous and learned young man of a reputable family in Westmoreland, preaching at Nayland in Suffolk April 1657, was sentenced by two justices to be openly whipped, as a vagrant, till his body were bloody.

* Gough's History, vol. 1. p. 139, 140.

The constable, to whom the warrant was given, employed a foolish fellow, void of discretion and feeling, to execute it; who laid on his stripes with unmerciful violence; whereby Whitehead's back and breasts were grievously cut, his skin torn, and his blood shed in abundance. But the insensible fool went on, unrestrained by the constable, till his hand was stayed by the cry of the spectators, who, affected with the cruelty, called out to him to stop. Humphrey Smith and Samuel Curtis, riding together near Axminster, George Bewley, John Ellis, and Humphrey Sprague, after a meeting in Bridport, were whipped as vagabonds, and sent away with passes. Joan Edmunds, wife of Edward Edmunds, of Totness, about ten miles from home being stopped by a drunken fellow, who took away her horse, on complaining to a justice, was sent to Exeter jail, because she had no pass: her horse was ordered to be sold, and part of the money applied to defray the charge of carrying her to prison. Her habitation lying in the direct road, she was taken six miles about, to prevent this injustice being exposed amongst her neighbours, who well knew she was no vagrant.*

Another pretext, on which many of these people suffered, under the form of law, very illegal severities, was that of breaking the sabbath. Their religious zeal, in frequenting their assemblies for public worship, obliged them to travel to the places, where they were held, sometimes at a considerable distance from their habitations. This was called a breach of the sabbath; and it was punished by impounding their horses, by distress of goods, by fines, by imprisonment, by whipping, and by sitting in the stocks.†

If magistrates could be guilty of such unrighteous severities, it is not surprising, that the licentious rabble should attack this people with violence and abuse. In numerous instances and in various places, the houses in which they held their assemblies for religious worship were riotously assaulted. Their services were interrupted by hallooing, singing, and railing: the windows were broken by stones and bullets: their persons were buffeted and stoned, their faces and clothes daubed with filth and excrements; some were knocked down, and others had their teeth beaten out;

* Gough's History, vol. 1. p. 225—232. † Ibid. p. 271, 272, note.

nor did the tenderness of sex protect the women. The rabble were too often led and encouraged by clergymen.

"Many of these abuses (observes the historian), being committed on the first day of the week, the day they called their sabbath, with impunity, under a government and by a people who pretended to make it a point to observe it with all the pharisaical strictness, and in many cases beyond the strictness, which the Mosaical law appointed for observing the seventh day, furnish an occasion to reflect upon the irrational inconsistency of superstition in every shape; by which I understand an over-zealous attachment to some circumstantials of religion, while the essential part, viz. the inwardly sanctifying power thereof, whereby we are taught to honour God, and love and do good to mankind, is overlooked. These men, it is probable, would have thought it a heinous crime to have been employed on that day in any honest labour, though in itself lawful, and in some sort necessary, and yet shewed no reluctance or compunction in committing unlawful actions, as opposite to good government as religion, in assaulting persons and destroying the property of inoffensive, unresisting neighbours and fellow-citizens with violence and outrage, whose only crime was, the applying the day to the best purpose, the assembling to worship their Maker in that way they were persuaded in their consciences was most acceptable to him."*

So general was the persecution under which this people suffered, that scarcely one of them, whose travels and services to the society are preserved on record, escaped personal abuse or cruel imprisonment in any quarter of the nation.

George Fox, in 1653, was summoned before the magistrates at Carlisle, and committed to prison till the assizes, as a blasphemer, and heretic, and a seducer. He had exasperated them by his plain-dealing, in endeavouring to shew them, that although they, being Presbyterians and Independents, were high in the profession of religion, they were without the possession of what they professed. The ground of his being summoned was, his having exhorted the people to truth and honesty, at the market-cross on a

* Gough's History, vol. 1. p. 267—271, and the note.

market-day, and having preached to them on the Sunday, after the service was concluded; on which he had been assaulted by rude people in the church, and rescued by the governor. During his confinement the general wish was, "that he might be hanged:" and the high-sheriff declared with rancour, that he would guard him to execution himself. At the assizes, it was found that the charge of blasphemy could not be made good, and it was concluded not to bring him to trial; and he was left with the magistrates of the town. By their order he was put among the felons and murderers, in a dungeon, noisome and filthy to the last degree, where men and women were kept together, one of whom was almost eaten up with lice; and the deputy of the jailer would often fall on him and the friends who visited him with a cudgel: while the prisoners, vile as they were, behaved affectionately to him, received his admonitions with deference, and some embraced his doctrine. At length, the parliament having instituted an inquiry concerning his situation, and the governor having remonstrated on it, he was released. In 1654, at Whetstone in Leicestershire, he was brought before colonel Hacker, who gave him liberty to go home, if he would stay there and not go abroad to meetings. To this Fox replied, "if he should agree thereto, it would imply that he was guilty of something, for which his home was made his prison; and if he went to meeting, they would consider that as a breach of their order: therefore he plainly told them he should go to meeting, and could not answer their requirings." Upon this he was, next day, carried prisoner by captain Drury to London. When Cromwell was informed of his arrival, he sent to him this message: "That the protector required of George Fox, that he should promise not to take up the sword, or any other weapon, against him or the government, as it then was: that he should write it in what words he saw proper, and set his hand to it." Fox returned an answer to this effect; and was afterward introduced to Cromwell, and they had much discourse about religion, in which the protector carried himself with great moderation: and Fox had his liberty given him.*

In 1656, Fox, accompanied by William Salt of London, and Edward Pyott of Bristol, travelled through Devon-

* Gough's History, vol. 1. p. 132—136. 155, 156.

shire into Cornwall, to Market-Jew, where he wrote a paper, containing an exhortation to fear God, and learn of Christ the light; which fell into the hands of major Ceely, a justice at St. Ives, who committed Fox and his companions to Launceston jail, on the charge of spreading papers to the disturbance of the public peace, and having *no* pass, though persons unknown, for travelling up and down, and refusing to take the oath of abjuration, and to give sureties for their good behaviour. After nine weeks' confinement they were brought to their trial, before judge Glyn, at the assizes: here they demanded justice for their false imprisonment; and major Ceely, not adhering to the charges in the mittimus, brought up new accusations of a treasonable proposal, and an assault: and they were indicted for coming, by force and arms, into a court, into which they were conducted as prisoners. But on no ground could any illegal criminality be proved against them. The judge ordered them to be taken away; and, in their absence, fined them twenty marks apiece for coming into court with their hats on, and commanded that they should be detained in prison till their fines were paid. Seeing no prospect of an immediate release from such a commitment, they discontinued the weekly payment of seven shillings apiece for themselves, and as much for their horses, which the jailer had extorted. Upon this they were turned into a dismal and most noisome dungeon, called Doomsdale, where the excrements of former prisoners had been accumulating for many years. They were not allowed beds or straw to lie on; and, the filthiness of the place not allowing them room to sit down, they were obliged to stand all night. Neither were they permitted to cleanse it, or to have any victuals but what they received with difficulty through the grate. This cruel treatment continued till the sessions at Bodmin, when, on a representation of their case to the justices, an order was obtained for opening the door of Doomsdale, and for permission to clean it, and to buy their provisions in the town. About the end of thirty weeks they were discharged by an order from major-general Desborrow, in consequence of applications made in their favour to Cromwell. During this imprisonment one of Fox's friends offered himself to the protector to lie in prison, body for body, in his stead: to which proposal Cromwell answered,

he could not grant it, being contrary to law; and turning to some of his council standing by him, asked, "Which of you would do as much for me, if I were in the same condition?"* The next places at which we find Fox are, Cardiff, Swansea, and Brecknock. He visited these towns in 1657; settled a meeting at Swansea; and, at the latter place, met with rude treatment, and was exposed to danger from the populace, raised and stimulated to riot and tumult by the magistrates.†

Another sufferer amongst the Quakers, was Miles Halhead, one of their first zealous preachers; who, at Skipton and Doncaster, was sorely beaten and bruised by the populace, and left for dead. Thomas Briggs, in Lancaster, Robert Widders and Willian Dewsbury, in Cumberland, were also severally abused in like manner.‡ John Cam and John Audland were assaulted at Bristol, to the great risk of their lives, by hundreds of the rabble, instigated by Farmer, a clergyman. William Caton and John Stubbs, besides being haled before the magistrates at Dover, were at Maidstone sent to the house of correction, stripped, and their necks and arms put into the stocks, and so cruelly whipped with cords as to draw tears from the spectators. After this, under the plea that "he that would not work should not eat," they were kept several days without victuals, only on the allowance of a little water once a day: and soon after were sent out of town, by different ways, with a pass, as vagabonds.§

At Wymondham in Norfolk, Richard Hubberthorn was committed to bridewell for addressing the congregation after sermon in the parish-church: and on the next day removed to a very incommodious prison, being a poor hole in a cross wall of Norwich-castle; where he was detained till the sessions. The justices then, waiving the original ground of his commitment, charged him with contempt of authority, for appearing before them with his hat on; and under this pretence recommitted him to prison, where he lay a long time.‖

The sufferings in which the members of this society were involved by the sentence of magistrates, were in many instances heightened by the severity and injustice of the jail-

* Gough's History, vol. i. p. 210—217. † Ibid. p. 289.
‡ Ibid. p. 137. § Ibid. p. 162. 166, 167. ‖ Ibid. p. 169.

ers: James Lancaster, George Whitehead, and Christopher Atkinson, for not complying with the jailer's extravagant demands, were obliged to lie in their clothes on the floor, in the prison at Norwich, for eight weeks in the cold winter of 1654.* At St. Edmundsbury, 1655, the same Whitehead, John Harwood, George Rose, George Fox the younger, and Henry Marshall, because they refused to gratify the avaricious demands of the jailer for lodgings, and required a free prison, were turned down to the common ward among the felons, in a low dungeon, with a damp earthen floor, where they lay upon rye-straw. In this situation they were exposed to abuse from the prisoners, who frequently took away their food and other necessaries, alleging the jailer's permission: one desperate fellow frequently kicked and smote, and in a drunken fit threatened to kill them; saying, "if he killed them, he should not be hanged for it." After they had been in prison thirty weeks, arrears of dues of fourteen pence a week were demanded from each of them; and on their remonstrating against it, the turnkey was ordered to take away their clothes and boxes, which was done, with a threat to take their coats from off their backs. And for the space of twenty-four weeks, they were obliged to lie upon part of their body-clothes on straw. Some necessaries of linen brought to them by a friend were seized, and the provisions sent to them were examined. Their friends were not admitted in; and, if they attempted to speak to them at the window or door of the jail, water was frequently thrown on them to drive them away. At length, in consequence of an application to the protector, an inquiry into the treatment they had received was instituted, and the jailer was restrained from exercising or permitting the cruel abuse they had hitherto suffered. After an imprisonment from twelve to fifteen months, through repeated applications to Cromwell, seconded by the private solicitations of Mrs. Mary Sanders, a waiting gentlewoman in his family, an order for their release was obtained, directed to sir Francis Russel, a man of moderation, and averse from persecution, who immediately caused them to be set at full liberty.† But the case of James Parnel, a native of Retford in Nottinghamshire, who was educated in the schools of literature, in the sixteenth year of his age

* Gough's History, vol. 1. p. 170. † Ibid. p. 176—180.

joined the Quakers, and, though a youth, was a pathetic preacher and able disputant, and discovered the wisdom and understanding of age and experience, afforded most affecting instances of the severities a cruel jailer could inflict. His constitution was tender, and after ten or eleven months sunk under the multiplied hardships of his imprisonment, about the age of nineteen; the consideration of his youth exciting no commiseration.*

Besides the personal injuries these virtuous people suffered, they were exposed to great depredations in their property, by unreasonable fines and exorbitant distraints, especially on account of tithes: into the detail of which we have not room to descend. Suffice it to say, that in 1659, where 53*l.* 13*s.* 6*d.* only could be demanded, 138*l.* were exacted.†

To sum up this view of their sufferings, it may be observed, that when a printed account of them was presented to the parliament which the protector convened, it appeared that one hundred and forty of them were then in prison; and of one thousand nine hundred who had suffered in the preceding six years, twenty-one had died in prison, generally by hardship or by violent abuses.‡

It is to be remarked, that they supported themselves under severe persecution, with meekness, patience, and fortitude, "as lambs dumb before their shearers:" and there were not wanting instances of their being so borne up by inward consolation and peace, by faith and hope in their afflictions, as frequently to sing praises to God, to the astonishment of the spectators and of their fellow-prisoners.

While they were exposed to hatred, contempt, and abuse, from without, brotherly kindness and unfeigned charity increased, and connected them amongst themselves. While each seemed regardless of his own liberty, they were zealous advocates for that of their brethren, and almost incessant in their representations to those in authority of the sufferings of their friends; going so far in their charity, as to offer themselves freely, person for person, to lie in prison, instead of such as they apprehended were in danger of perishing through the length or extremity of their confinement.§

* Gough's History, vol. 1. p. 180—188.
† Ibid. p. 271.
‡ Ibid. p. 284.
§ Ibid. p. 140. 175, 176.

This mutual and generous attachment was amiable: their moral conduct was regular: and their conscientious regard to fidelity in their commerce begat confidence. They were careful to manufacture or choose such goods as were substantial, and would answer the expectations of the purchasers; moderate in their profits; sparing in their commendations; punctual in their payments; they asked no more for their ware than the precise sum they were determined to accept; and they took no advantage of ignorance. So that, under all their sufferings, they prospered, and verified the proverb, that "Honesty is the best policy."*

It was also a distinguishing trait in the character of this people, that they attached themselves to none of the political parties of the day, nor entered into their ambitious views. It was with them a principle of religion to have no intermeddling with secular factions, and to demean themselves quietly and peaceably under the existing government. When the nation was in great commotion and fluctuation, on the death of Cromwell, George Fox addressed an exhortation to his friends "to live in love and peace with all men, to keep clear of all the commotions of the world, and not to intermeddle with the powers of the earth, but to let their conversation be in heaven." He remarked, that "all who pretend to fight for Christ are deceived, for his kingdom is not of this world, and therefore his servants do not fight." When sir George Booth rose in arms in favour of the exiled monarch, the committee of safety invited the Quakers to take up arms, offering considerable posts and commands to some of them. But they esteemed war and violence to be inconsistent with pure Christianity, and were not to be corrupted by the prospects of preferment and honours.†

Unassisted by any alliance with the state, nay, treated with severity by all the contending powers in their turn, and every where pursued with contempt and cruel abuse, they increased, and spread themselves over the kingdom. In the year 1652, meetings of them were settled in many of the central and northern parts of the nation. Their preachers were zealous and active; not intimidated by sufferings, nor wearied by journeys and labours. Francis Howgill and Edward Burroughs, with Anthony Pearson, travelled to London; John Cam and John Audland to Bristol; Richard

* Gough's History, vol. 1. p. 141. † Ibid. p. 273, 274, 277.

Hubberthorn and George Whitehead, to Norwich; and others to other parts. And we find George Fox disseminating their principles, and meeting the severest sufferings, in the remotest parts of the kingdom. The evils which this people endured with singular meekness and patience, had great effect in awakening attention to their preaching, and softening the minds of numbers to the reception of their doctrine. It was justly remarked by Hugh Peters to Oliver Cromwell, "that he could not give George Fox a better opportunity of spreading his principles in Cornwall, than by imprisoning him there."*

The instances of the persecution and sufferings they endured, which we have selected, for we do not pretend to give their history in a minute detail, reflect disgrace on the magistracy of the age: and are a reproach to the administration of justice. But the mayor of Oxford, in the year 1654, deserves to be mentioned as an example of a more equitable and humane disposition. Elizabeth Heavens and Elizabeth Fletcher, two north-country women, were apprehended and sent to Bocardo, a prison usually appropriated to the reception of felons and murderers, for having exhorted the people, after service, in one of the churches. The mayor being sent for to meet the justices, by whose order they had been committed, to examine the Quakers, he replied to the message, "Let them who committed them deal with them according to law, for my part I have nothing against them: if they wanted food, money, or clothes, I would willingly supply them." The justices however met, attended by Dr. Owen the vice-chancellor, who was the principal in examining them; and the sentence passed on them was, that they should be whipped out of the city. This sentence, according to the constitution of the town, was not valid without the signature and seal of the mayor: which, as he judged it unmerited and unjust, he refused to affix to it. But by the order of the vice-chancellor and his coadjutors, it was severely executed without being legalized by his sanction: though the conviction of their innocence affected even the heart of the executioner to that degree, that he performed his office with manifest reluctance.†

* Gough's History, vol. 1. p. 217.

† These women had, a few days before, for exhorting the inhabitants and students to repentance, been pumped on by the scholars of St. John's college, till they were

Another more remarkable and more public instance of protection and justice, which this people were so happy as once to receive in those times, reflects honour on the name of general Monk. On a complaint against some of his soldiers for disturbing their meetings, he issued out this order:

"St. James's, March 9, 1659.

"I do require all officers and soldiers to forbear to disturb the peaceable meetings of the Quakers, they doing nothing prejudicial to the parliament or commonwealth of England. George Monk."*

I am sensible, that wild flights of rudeness and enthusiasm, that violations of decency, decorum, and order, are imputed to the Quakers at this period. Mosheim stigmatizes them as "pernicious fanatics," and speaks, as it were with approbation, of their being "severely chastised for their extravagance and folly." But granting the justness of these imputations, which I conceive, however, are by no means to be admitted in all instances and to their full extent, and will scarcely apply to those cases of suffering which we have stated; every equitable and humane mind will feel indignant at seeing folly illegally chastised, and enthusiastic extravagances restrained by acts of cruelty. Extravagance and folly rank almost with wisdom and virtue, when compared with the injustice and inhumanity of the magistrates from whom the Quakers suffered persecution.

The society of those called Quakers considered the restoration of Charles II. as a signal instance of the interposition of Providence, to restore peace and order to a distracted nation: and soon after he was placed on the throne, Mr. Richard Huberthorn obtained access to the *king*, and stated the excessive sufferings which his friends had sustained, and under which they were still smarting. The king entered into free conversation with him on the principles of the Quakers, and promised them his protection: saying, "Of this you may be assured, that you shall none of you suffer for your opinions or religion, so long as you live peaceably, and you have the word of a king for it; and I

almost suffocated: they were then tied arm to arm, and dragged up and down the college, and through a pool of water: and Elizabeth Fletcher, a young woman, was thrown over a grave, whereby she received a contusion on her side, from which she never recovered, but soon after died. Yet it does not appear that the magistrates animadverted on this inhuman outrage.—Gough's History, vol. 1. p. 147—149.

* Ibid. p. 279.

have also given forth a declaration to the same purpose, that none shall wrong or abuse you."*

This assurance raised in their minds the encouraging expectation of not being molested in their religious worship and profession. Better times than they had hitherto experienced appeared to be opening upon them. Their meetings were large and quiet. Numbers, drawn by curiosity, or better motives, flocked to them, and embraced their sentiments; but this calm was of no long duration; and they soon found that the word of a king could be a delusive ground of dependance. Venner's insurrection brought on them new and severe persecution; though they were, by the dying testimony of the sufferers at their execution, exculpated from all knowledge of the design. Their meetings were broken up by soldiers. Their persons were abused by the populace. Their houses were ransacked. They were forced from their employments, and cast into jails among felons, who rifled them of their money and clothes. And even the sick were dragged out of their beds to prisons; one of whom, Mr. Patchen, a man of considerable estate, being in a fever, died there.†

This persecution was not confined to the city of London, but spread with similar violence over all or most parts of the nation. They were, without conviction, without crimination, without any legal cause, violently haled to prison, and crowded together in close, damp, or unwholesome rooms, in such numbers, as almost to the danger of suffocation. In Bristol, near one hundred and ninety were imprisoned. In Lancaster were two hundred and seventy prisoners: in Westmoreland, one hundred and sixteen: in the West-riding of Yorkshire were not fewer than two hundred and twenty-nine; and the number in the North-riding amounted to a hundred and twenty-six. And the treatment which they received in prison was generally as cruel as the commitment was unjust.‡

When the members of this society had cleared themselves from the imputation of being parties in Venner's insurrection, they were proceeded against on new grounds; and old laws, made in the reigns of Henry VIII. and queen Elizabeth, were revived and made rules for proceeding against

* Gough's History, vol. 1. p. 440. † Ibid. p. 441. 445.
‡ Ibid. p. 446—451.

them; namely, the laws against the subtraction of tithes, and neglecting to resort to the parish-church, or some other, on every Sunday or holiday. They were also prosecuted on an act made in the beginning of queen Elizabeth's reign, for administering the oath of supremacy, and on one of the third of James, enjoining the oath of allegiance. When there remained no shadow of reason to detain those whom they had imprisoned on account of the rising of the fifth-monarchy men, it was a usual method with the magistrates to tender them the oath of allegiance, which they knew they would not take, that their refusal might be a pretext for still holding them in confinement; though their demeanour was peaceable and unresisting, and by the most explicit declarations they solemnly expressed and pledged their allegiance.* By the misapplication of the law of James, many of them suffered the loss of personal liberty, and of all their substance, and were exposed to very hard and illicit treatment. The case of Thomas Goodyear, and Benjamin Staples, at the quarter-sessions at Oxford, is a striking instance of this. Thomas Goodyear, after receiving the sentence of præmunire, was brought into court, like a common malefactor, with bolts on his legs, and on asking, "whether the jailer had orders to fetter him?" he was answered, "The jailer may do as he will with you, for you are out of the king's protection." This man, encouraged by the example of his superior, when he brought them back to the prison, told the other prisoners, "that if they wanted clothes, they might take theirs off their backs, for they can have no law against you." But one of the prisoners humanely answered, he would rather go naked, than strip honest men of their clothes, who were stripped of all they had beside.†

It is but candid, however, to remark that, though the justices and inferior magistrates, from their bitterness against the Nonconformists, were disposed, in some cases, to put the 35th of Elizabeth in full force, yet the instances of enforcing this law, through the intervention of higher authority, were not many, nor equally encouraged with other modes of prosecution; as the full enforcing thereof must have terminated in public executions.‡

* Gough's History, vol. 1. p. 457—466. † Ibid. p. 531, 533.
‡ Ibid. p. 537.

But notwithstanding this instance of moderation, violent prejudices against the Quakers were so universal, that they were left unmolested in few or no parts of the kingdom. In 1662, Mr. George Fox represented to the king, that since his restoration three thousand and sixty-eight of their friends had been imprisoned. A narrative signed by twelve witnesses, attested that four thousand two hundred of those called Quakers, both men and women, were in prison. No age or sex found commiseration. Men of seventy, or more years old, were subjected to all the rigours of a jail. In London and its suburbs, five hundred were, at this time, confined; suffering every severity, their trades ruined, and their families exposed to ruin. The treatment of this people, even in this city, resembled the French dragoonings of the Hugonots, rather than the condition of those who were entitled to the privileges of a constitution limited to legal rule. They were beaten with cudgels, cut with swords, and dragged into the streets; there they lay in the kennels, senseless and helpless, besmeared with their blood: and the passengers and spectators, moved by the sight of their condition, would sometimes cry out shame upon the perpetrators, that such a resemblance of massacre should be committed in the streets of London. Some, for these expressions of compassion, had their share of the like treatment. The soldiers being asked, why they could be so cruel to their neighbours? one of them answered, "Nay, we are more merciful than we ought to be, for we have orders to kill; and that his musket was double charged, as most of those of the party were to his knowledge." Through this treatment, some who were haled out of the meeting at Bull-and-Mouth, 31st of August, 1662, were so disabled as to keep their beds for some time: one was so wounded in the head that his brains were visible, and one died of the bruises and wounds he received. The coroner's jury, which was impanelled to view the body, broke up without giving a verdict; alleging as their reason, that if they pronounced it wilful murder, and the perpetrator could not be found, the city would be liable to a fine. The king, when an account of these barbarous transactions was presented to him by one of the society, said, "I assure you, it was not by my advice, that any of your friends should be slain; you must tell the magistrates of the city of it, and prosecute the law

against them." The mayor was, by letter, duly apprized of these proceedings, but afforded no redress. The letter, accompanied by a narrative, was printed and published; for which the author was committed to Newgate by sir Richard Brown, the mayor, on the charge of dispersing scandalous papers.*

After the murder we have mentioned, the meetings in the city were generally undisturbed for six weeks; then similar practices of injustice and cruelty were renewed, under the sanction of the magistrates, and continued nearly to the end of the year 1662. By this time no less than twenty persons had died prisoners in Newgate, and seven more by sickness contracted there soon after their discharge.†

The king's declaration of indulgence retarded, in 1663, the furious career of the persecuting magistrates; and few instances of sufferings in the metropolis occur in this year, compared with the preceding. Yet the Quakers did not remain quite unmolested; for sir John Robinson, who preceded sir R. Brown in the mayoralty, ordered a guard to be placed at the entrance of the Bull-and-Mouth meeting-house, to prevent any persons from entering into it. The meetings on this were held in the streets; but those who preached or prayed were generally haled away to prison, and blows were unmercifully dealt on the heads both of men and women, who did not disperse at the command of the mayor and his officers. In this year there was also a severe persecution of this people at Colchester in Essex. Their meetings were interrupted by acts of violence: and many were disabled and bruised, and the lives of others were brought into great danger by blows with clubs, carbines, and swords. One of them, when a trooper was beating him with a sword, and the blade fell out of the hilt, took it and gave it to him, saying, "I will give it thee up again; I desire the Lord may not lay this day's work to thy charge."‡

The operation of the conventicle act, passed in 1664, though levelled at every body of dissenters, fell with peculiar weight on the Quakers; numbers of them, and of them only, were condemned to transportation upon this act; and the proceedings against them were conducted with peculiar

* Gough, vol. 1. p. 538—546. † Ibid. vol. 2. p. 1, 2.
‡ Ibid. vol. 2. p. 21—24.

and hostile precipitancy. For, "as the penalty for the first offence was imprisonment for a term not exceeding three months, and for the second not exceeding six, at the arbitrary discretion of two justices;" it was usual for these justices to commit them for a few days for the first and second offences, not out of tenderness, but in order to subject them more speedily to the penalty of transportation for the third offence. For, from their long-approved constancy, they promised themselves an assurance of finding them again at their religious assemblies, as soon as at liberty.* The privileges of the subject were held at this time by so precarious a tenure, that the history of this society furnishes instances of the judges refusing to accept the verdict of the grand jury, when they have returned the bill *ignoramus*; and of his sending them out again with menaces and fresh instructions.† The evidence produced against them, on their trial, was sometimes so insufficient, that the jury remonstrated against it, and entreated not to be troubled any more with such evidence. When neither persuasions nor menaces could induce a jury to alter their verdict to the dictates of the court, some of them were bound in *100l.* each to appear at the King's-bench-bar the first day of the following term.‡

The awful visitation of Providence, by a destructive pestilence in 1665, had no effect in softening the enmity of their persecutors. Persecution continued, and the meetings were disturbed as before. Many who were cast into the filthy holes of Newgate were released by this disease, which had infected the jails, from a life worse than death. "But (says my author), what must fix an indelible stamp of utter insensibility to every motive of humanity, of civility, or common decency, on the characters of the magistrates, to the disgrace of the government, and of that church with which they were so zealous to enforce conformity, was, that during the very height of the contagion, they continued to crowd the infected prisons with fresh prisoners."§

In 1668, the Quakers were not, in comparison with former years, much disturbed by the civil power; their sufferings were mostly by excommunications, imprisonments, and dis-

* Gough, vol. 2. p. 112, 116.
† Ibid. p. 117, 118.
‡ Ibid. p. 128, 129.
§ Ibid. p. 139, 140.

traints, for their conscientious scruples against paying ecclesiastical demands, several of which, however, were unreasonably severe.

The third act against conventicles, which was carried into a law in 1670, opened new scenes of persecution, in which the Quakers had their peculiar share. Many were cruelly spoiled of their property; people of considerable substance were reduced to extreme poverty; and the sick had their beds taken from under them, and were reduced to lie on the floor. When the sufferers, according to the privilege allowed by the act, appealed against the heavy fines and the exorbitant distraints, they generally obtained little by the appeal but additional loss. The influence of the convicting justice, the partiality of the bench, corrupt juries, or a neglect in putting into due execution the decrees of the quarter-sessions, to which they appealed, left them unredressed. A misconstruction of the word conventicles, which the act limited to meetings for religious worship, contrary to the liturgy of the church of England, often exposed them to illegal fines; for, if they met merely to provide for their poor, or visited a sick friend, or attended the funerals of the deceased, there were not wanting informers hardy enough to swear such meetings conventicles, nor justices prejudiced against them to issue their warrants to levy the fines accordingly; of which Mr. Gough gives various instances.* The penalty on the preacher being 20*l.* for the first offence, and 40*l.* for the second, the desire of gain often tempted the unprincipled informer to swear against a preacher, when there was not a word spoken in the meeting. At other times, a word spoken, though not on subjects of religion, was termed preaching; and an answer to an impertinent question, extorted from some one or other present, bore the same construction. The magistrates were as ready to fine as the informer to swear; and, by this iniquitous combination, the innocent were robbed under the cover of an act of parliament.† It is a pleasure to find, and truth requires one to add, that some justices, apprized of the villany of the informers, had too much honour to encourage their vicious disposition to plunder without mercy, and to swear without scruple. The lord-mayor of London, in particular, sitting in a court of aldermen, in the year 1670,

* Gough's History, vol. 2. p. 305—316. † Ibid. p. 316—318.

when an informer made his appearance with such a number of informations as would have wronged the accused of 1500*l.* with abhorrence broke up the court.* This year affords another peculiar instance of the illegal proceedings by which this society were harassed; which, notwithstanding the king's repeated professions of favour towards them, originated with the court. On the 29th of July an order was issued, by the king and council, for demolishing the meeting-house at Horsley-down, Southwark. It was grounded on a pretence, that the persons who assembled in it behaved in a riotous and tumultuous manner, than which charge nothing could be more repugnant to their avowed principles and uniform manners. The pulling down of the building was, by express command, committed to Christopher Wren, esq.; the surveyor-general of his majesty's works. After this order was affixed to the meeting-house, the members of the society continued their assemblies in it, till it was demolished; they then met upon the rubbish. By this they exposed themselves to repeated outrages and cruel abuses from the military, into whose hands was put the despotic treatment of this assembly, and who, at one assault, sorely bruised and wounded twenty, at a second thirty, and at a third more than fifty persons. When the soldiers were reprehended for their cruelty; some of them answered, "If you knew what orders we have, you would say we dealt mercifully with you." Others, being asked, How can you deal thus with a people that have love and good-will to all men, and make no resistance or opposition? replied; "We had rather, and it would be better for us, if they did resist and oppose." This was looked upon by the sufferers, as if they sought occasion to embrue their hands more deeply in blood, and take the lives and estates of honest people for their prey. At length these military violations of the peace of the city roused the civil officers to interpose their authority; but it was too weak to protect this unarmed body against the number of armed men let loose upon them. These proceedings of the soldiers having been represented to the king and council, a temporary cessation of these cruelties was procured, but they were not wholly discontinued. A building at Ratcliffe, belonging to this society, was subjected to the like violence with that of Horsley-down,

* Gough's History, vol. 2. p. 310–316.

and on the 2d of September, without any legal process, was demolished. On that day and the night following, twelve cartloads of doors, windows, and floors, with other materials, were carried away. Some of the materials were sold on the spot for money and strong drink. Thus grievous sufferings, exorbitant spoil, and illegal depredation, were the lot of an inoffensive and peaceable class of subjects. These evils were inflicted by those whose duty it was to protect the rights and property of the subject, even by officers under government.*

While these calamities awaited the general body of this people on account of their conscientious profession, it is to be supposed, that the more active and distinguished members of the society were peculiar marks for prejudice and malignity. Of this the history of the Quakers furnishes many examples, which we must not pass over unnoticed, though our limits will not allow us to go into a minute detail of each case.

George Fox, eminent for his activity and zeal in disseminating his principles, was among the first who, after the restoration of Charles II. and for some years, felt the rage of bigotry. In 1660 he was apprehended by a warrant from Mr. Henry Porter, the mayor of Lancaster, at the house of Margaret Fell at Swaithmore, and carried to Ulverston, where he was guarded for the night by fifteen or sixteen men, some of whom kept sentry at the chimney, for fear he should escape by that passage; "so darkened," observes the historian, "were they by superstitious imaginations." Next morning he was escorted, with abusive and contumelious treatment, to Lancaster, and brought before the mayor, who committed him to prison; refused bail; and denied him a copy of the mittimus. Two friends having however been permitted to read it, he published an immediate reply to the charges, which they reported to him it contained. Application was made to the king for a habeas corpus to remove him to London, and was obtained. In consequence of this writ, though his persecutors, for two months, obstructed the operation of it, he presented himself in the court of King's-bench; the justices, being dispassionate and favourable, caused the sheriff's return of the habeas corpus to be laid before the king, who, when

* Gough, vol. 2. p. 341—352.

Fox had suffered for more than twenty weeks an unjust and severe imprisonment, gave directions for his release. His enemies, on his obtaining his liberty, were filled with vexation and fear, as they were conscious of the illegality of their proceedings; and he was advised, by some in authority, to make the mayor and the rest examples: but he meekly replied, "I shall leave them to the Lord; if he forgive them, I shall trouble myself no farther about them."*

On occasion of rumours of a conspiracy set on foot in the north among the republicans and separatists, warrants were again issued out, in 1663, to apprehend George Fox; as he was on his tour through the northern counties, he was not met with; but at length, finding that they continued their pursuit, he resolved to stand his ground, and was apprehended; when no evidence could be produced to justify committing him on the pretended plot, the justices contented themselves with his engaging to appear at the sessions: he appeared at it, but finding no grounds to effect their purpose, either upon the plot, or the act against meetings, they committed him, for refusing the oath of allegiance, to a very incommodious room in Lancaster-castle, where he was kept close prisoner till after the spring assizes 1665; after that he was removed to Scarborough-castle, where he was detained upwards of a year longer; when finding means to have his case laid before the king, he soon after obtained his release, having suffered an arbitrary and very rigorous imprisonment of more than three years.† At Lancaster, he was locked up in a smoky tower, sometimes so filled with smoke that a burning candle was scarcely visible,‡ and so open as to admit the rain in upon his bed. The room allotted to him in Scarborough-castle was little better, if not worse; and when, at his own expense, he had made it tolerable, he was removed into another room, without chimney or fire-place, and so open to the sea-side, that the rain, violently driven by the wind, poured into the room. A sentinel was placed at his door; few or none of his friends were permitted to visit him, or even to bring him food; but numbers of others were admitted in to gaze upon him, or dispute with him.§ His removal from one

* Gough's History, vol. 1. p. 432—439.
† Ibid. vol. 2. p. 25—29. ‡ Ibid. p. 29. § Ibid. p. 152, 153.

prison to another, when he was in a very weak condition, was attended with a treatment in many respects uncivil and rude. To the rigour and hardships of his imprisonment were added, to terrify him, the frequent menaces of his keepers. The deputy-governor once told him, "that the king, knowing he had a great interest in the people, had sent him thither, that if there should be any stirring in the nation, they should hang him over the wall." He replied to this menace, "If that was what they desired, and it was permitted them, he was ready, for he never feared death or sufferings in his life; but was known to be an innocent, peaceable man, free from stirrings and plottings, and one that sought the good of all men." His patience surmounted the hardships to which he was exposed; and his innocence pleading in his favour, his keepers at length relaxed their severity, and treated him with favour and respect. When, on obtaining his release, Mr. Fox offered an acknowledgment for his late civility and kindness to the governor of Scarborough-castle, he refused it; adding, "whatever good he could do him or his friends, he would do it, and never do them any hurt." His consequent conduct made good this promise, for it was ever favourable to the Quakers.*

Mrs. Margaret Fell, who had been a widow about two years, in 1660 was, in a degree, involved in the severe proceedings against Fox; for, that they might lay hold of him, they forcibly entered and searched her house; of this she complained in an appeal to the public, as an injury offered to herself, and a violation of the liberty of the subject.† In the year 1663, this lady, the widow of a judge and a woman of estate, was cited before the justices, and questioned about keeping meetings at her house, and the oath of allegiance was tendered to her; on which she expostulated with them, that as "they knew she could not swear, *why* should they send for her from her own house and her lawful affairs to insnare her?" adding, "What have I done?" This remonstrance, for the instant, impressed their minds, and they declared they would not urge the oath, if she would not keep meetings at her house.‡ To this proposal she magnanimously replied, "she would not deny her faith

* Gough, vol. 2. p. 150—156. † Ibid. vol. 1. p. 435, 436.

‡ Mr. Gough properly remarks on this proposal, that it was a plain confession, that the tender of the oath was a mere pretext to be vexatious to the subject, an arbitrary measure assumed for the mere purpose of persecution.

and principles for any thing they could do against her, and while it should please the Lord to let her have a house, she would endeavour to worship him in it." On this the oath was tendered, and on her refusal, she was committed to Lancaster-castle, a prison then crowded with numbers of the same profession, and the state of which heightened the evil of confinement. Here she was detained till next year.*

When, in the month of August, she was, at the assizes, brought to her trial on the same account, she persevered in refusing the oath, and answered the judge with good sense and pious intrepidity. Her counsel was admitted to plead an arrest of judgment, after the jury gave a verdict against her, and found several errors in the indictment, but they were not admitted by the judge, and sentence of præmunire was passed upon her. She remained in prison twenty months, before she could obtain liberty to go to her own house, which she procured for a little time, and returned to prison again, where she continued about four years, till released by an order of the king and council.†

Another of the society of Quakers, whose sufferings are recorded in a distinct narrative, was their noted preacher, Mr. Francis Howgill. This respectable man, as he was in the market-place at Kendal on his lawful business, was summoned before the magistrates then sitting in a tavern; who tendered him the oath of allegiance, and, on his conscientious refusal of it, committed him to prison till the next month. At the spring assizes of 1663, the oath was again administered unto him, and on his refusal, an indictment was drawn up against him, which he traversed. A bond for his good behaviour till his trial came on being required of him, he suffered himself to be recommitted to prison rather than give it, as he apprehended it would be a tacit acknowledgment of past ill-behaviour, and his attendance at meetings in the mean time, which a sense of duty would not suffer him to neglect, would be interpreted as a breach of engagement.‡ As he was going to the prison he turned to the people, and uttered this devout wish, "The fear of God be among you all." And the people generally appeared very affectionate to him, and pitied his hard cir-

* Gough, vol. 2. p. 29, &c. † Ibid. p. 92—96. ‡ Ibid. p. 31, 32.

cumstance;* while the justices of Westmoreland endeavoured to prepossess the judge and court against him by invidious reflections on him and the society, and by the weight of their united influence and enmity.

At the summer assizes he was again brought to the bar. Modesty, equanimity, good sense, sober reasoning, and deep impressions of religion, marked his conduct at both assizes, and appear to have softened the sternness of his judges. The sentence which confiscated his lands to the king during his life, and his goods and chattels for ever, and consigned him to prison for the rest of his days, was however passed upon him; the judge, it was observed, pronounced it with a faint and low voice, as if he was sensible that this man was greatly wronged, and that himself did not entirely approve of the sentence he was passing.† "In mistaken zeal for religion (our historian remarks), the plainest rules of morality are violated, and in forcing uniformity in unessential points, the substantial parts, mercy, justice, and truth, are obliterated."

The case of Hannah Trigg, on account of the singular severity of it, deserves particular mention. She was one of twelve Quakers who received sentence of transportation, being tried and convicted on a bill of indictment preferred against them for the third offence. The circumstance which particularly marked the tyranny and illegality of the treatment of this young woman was, that she was not sixteen years of age, and the certificate of her birth was arbitrarily rejected by the justices. After sentence she sickened in Newgate, and died there. The unfeeling inhumanity, which was insatiate with her life, was extended to her corpse. Her relations were deprived of the consolation of interring her as they desired, but she was carried to the burying-place of the felons; and when the bearers came to the ground, finding no grave made, they left the corpse unburied, saying they would make a grave next morning. The girl's mother attending the funeral, had the grief and anguish to behold this treatment of her daughter's remains in silent sorrow, without the power of remedy.‡

The sufferings also of Joseph Fuce, a man of patient and meek spirit, and very laborious as a preacher, who died in

* Gough, vol. 2. p. 100. † Ibid. p. 103. ‡ Ibid. p. 127.

the White-Lion prison in Southwark in 1665, should not pass unnoticed. In 1660, being at a meeting at Deal, he with twenty-three others, was seized by several armed men, and being committed to Sandown-castle, they were kept there several nights and days, their friends not being allowed to bring them either food to eat or straw to lie on. He and another were afterward removed to Dover-castle, and with five others of their friends were locked up in one room, from which they were permitted no egress, not even for the necessities of nature, nor were their friends allowed any access to them; and the servant of the marshal, for shewing them some little favour, was dismissed from his place. Joseph Fuce remonstrating, when an opportunity offered, on the cruel usage they received, was answered with a volley of oaths and execrations. His pious ears being wounded with this profaneness, he bore his testimony against it by a serious reproof. The marshal at this, exasperated to rage, caused him to be dragged headlong down several stone steps into a dungeon, overrun with filth and with vermin, into which no light or air could enter, but by some holes cut in the door. He was kept there two days and two nights, without fire, candle, straw, or any thing to lie on but an old blanket. When he had obtained some straw, for want of air, through the damp and stench of his dismal lodging, he fell sick; and after nine days' confinement, as he seemed at the point of death, the fear of being questioned for murdering him, moved the marshal to remove him, and to permit him to return to his fellow-prisoners, with whom he continued several months till released by the king's proclamation.*

Neither the calamities to which the society of Quakers were exposed, nor the sufferings which with peculiar severity were felt by some of its most eminent and worthy members, could damp the ardour of their zeal in defending their cause and disseminating their principles, but served to call forth their vigorous exertions. Margaret Fell, on the apprehension of George Fox, published a brief narrative of that violent proceeding, and took a journey to London to lay the case before the king, requesting his favourable interposition, "to cause him to be removed to London, and hear his cause himself:" in which suit she was heard.†

* Gough, vol. 2. p. 143—145. † Ibid. vol. 1. p. 435—437.

When, in consequence of the insurrection of the fifth-monarchy men, many of the Quakers, without crimination, without conviction, were violently haled to prison, in addition to the endeavours used for their relief, by publishing and presenting to the king, a declaration from that people against all sedition, plotters, fighters, &c. the same lady several times waited personally upon the king to solicit his indulgence and protection for them: at her first admission she signified to him, "they were an innocent, peaceable people, who did no injury, and administered no occasion of offence, except in keeping up their religious meetings, for no other purpose than worshipping God in that way they were persuaded was most acceptable to him, and edifying one another in his fear; which being to them a conscientious matter of duty to God, they could not violate it, in compliance with the ordinances or laws of man, whatever they suffered." In consequence of her applications and the declaration above mentioned, the king sent out a proclamation, "forbidding soldiers to search any house without a constable." At length he was prevailed upon to issue out a declaration, ordering "the Quakers to be set at liberty without paying the fees."* Burrough, Hubberthorn, and Whitehead, among others, were active advocates for their suffering brethren. They attended parliament to solicit against the bill, brought in in 1661, passing into an act. Burrough presented to the king and council in the same year a paper, entitled, "A just and righteous Plea," representing their sentiments respecting oaths, and their established religious principle, "to enter into no plots, combinations, or rebellion, against government; nor to seek deliverance from injustice or oppression by any such means." In this he was seconded by Hubberthorn and Whitehead, who with ability and spirit entered into a vindication of the religious meetings of their society.† Two letters, about this time, were addressed to the king, remonstrating on the countenance given to profane shows and sports, and the encouragement afforded to prosecutors, and boldly reproving his majesty for his personal conduct. The one was written by George Fox the elder, so called for distinction, as the elder brother of the society, the other was drawn up by George Fox the younger. They afford a specimen, as

* Gough, vol. 1. p. 155, 156. † Ibid. p. 500—505.

the historian observes, "of the honest plain dealing of men, who, with Elihu, knew not to flatter, lest in so doing their Maker should take them away." When the last of the two letters was delivered to the king, he seemed considerably affected with the contents. His brother, the duke of York, whose temper was more gloomy, reserved, and vindictive, being greatly exasperated with the writer, advised the king to punish him; but, with much propriety, he replied, "It were better for us to mend our lives."* These epistles of the Foxes, however, left no permanent impression on the royal mind. In the year 1662, the universal rage against the peaceable society of the Quakers left them unmolested in few or no parts of the nation. On this George Fox again addressed the king on behalf of the suffering friends, and stated, that since his restoration three thousand and sixty-eight had been imprisoned, and a narrative signed by twelve witnesses was printed, which represented that the number of men and women then in prison amounted to upwards of four thousand and two hundred. Humanity revolts at the circumstances of cruelty with which the members of this society were treated at this time; when their meetings were broken up by men with clubs, they themselves were thrown into the water, and trampled under foot till the blood gushed out.† Among other endeavours that George Fox used to remove suspicion and soften enmity, was a paper which he wrote in 1663, as a testimony against all plots and conspiracies whatever; to admonish his friends to circumspection in their words and actions, and not to meddle in any civil commotions: copies of which he dispersed through the northern counties, and sent one to the king and council.‡

Others of this society, besides George Fox, took up their pens in the cause of their innocent and oppressed brethren. When the conventicle-act was passed in 1664, George Whitehead published a piece to expose the severity of the persecutors, to exculpate his friends from the charge of obstinacy, to strengthen their steadfastness, and to remonstrate on the unequal and arbitrary manner in which the judges enforced the act. Another remonstrance was also published about the same time, by Josiah Coale, against perse-

* Gough, vol. 1, p. 510, 513. † Ibid. p. 538. ‡ Ibid. vol. 2. p. 25.

cution, addressed to the king and both houses of parliament.*

In the year 1666 the cause of the Quakers began to derive great support and credit from the abilities and virtues of the celebrated William Penn, who in that year joined their society, and became one of its most eminent advocates and ornaments. His pen was soon employed in its defence. His first piece was entitled, "The Sandy Foundation shaken." This gave great offence to some powerful ecclesiastics, and it was answered by an accustomed mode of reply, namely, an order for imprisoning him. He was closely confined seven months in the Tower, and denied the visits of his friends. This precluded him from his ministerial labours: but several treatises were the fruits of his solitude, particularly one of great note, entitled, "No Cross, no Crown;" in which, Dr. Henry More observed, "Mr. Penn has treated the subject of a future life and the immortality of the soul, with a force and spirit equal to most writers."†

The first of the above pieces was occasioned by a particular circumstance which called on the Quakers to vindicate themselves in a public disputation. Mr. Thomas Vincent, a Presbyterian minister of eminent piety, and who distinguished himself by his ministerial labours in the time of the plague, but whose zeal in this instance misled him, had, on two of his hearers going to the Quakers' meetings, indulged himself in invectives from the pulpit against that people, and in a licence of expression beyond the bounds of Christian moderation and common decency. This reaching the ears of some of those at whom they were cast, they demanded of him a public meeting to vindicate themselves from his severe reflections, or to give him an opportunity to support them by proof, to which, after some demur, Mr. Vincent agreed. Before the hour appointed the house was filled with his own hearers and partisans; and he was accompanied by three other Presbyterian ministers, as his assistants; Mr. Thomas Dawson, Mr. Thomas Doolittle, and Mr. William Maddocks. George Whitehead and William Penn, on the side of their friends, attended to his charges against the Quakers. Instead of bringing them

* Gough, vol. 2. p. 115. † British Biography, vol. 7. p. 138.

forward, Mr. Vincent opened the conference with this question, "Whether they owned one Godhead in three distinct and separate persons?" He framed on this, according to the mode of argumentation then in use, a syllogism. George Whitehead rejected his terms as unscriptural, and not deducible from the text he quoted, and desired him to explain them so that they might be understood; observing, "that God did not use to wrap his truths in heathenish metaphysics, but deliver them in plain language." But Mr. Vincent and his coadjutors would neither keep to Scripture terms, nor allow them in their antagonists. After many insults offered to the Quakers, and opprobrious names cast upon them, the meeting was broken up by a prayer from Mr. Vincent, in which these people were accused as blasphemers. Some people staying, after he and his brethren withdrew, the Quakers found an opportunity of exculpating themselves from the invectives of their adversaries. Another debate was desired, but evaded. On this Penn appealed to the public.*

It falls within the period of which we are writing, to notice the remarks on the third conventicle act, which George Fox, being in London at the time, published in 1670, in order, if possible, to move the government to moderation. Apprehending an impending storm, he wrote also, at the same time, an epistle to his friends, to exhort them to faithfulness and steadfastness in their testimony to the truth, and to Christian patience, in bearing the sufferings which might be permitted to try their faith.†

Under a successive train of severe trials, this people maintained patience, resignation, and a blameless demeanour: and, with the powers of the world against them, their numbers were continually increasing. In the year 1666 they were become a large body. This gave them courage and resolution to erect in that year a new meeting-house in Whitehart-court, Gracechurch-street, which, from its central situation, became afterward the place for their yearly meetings.‡

The affairs of this society began now to range into a regular and systematic form. George Fox, as soon as he was released from his long confinement, proceeded as usual in his labours; and when he was so weak and stiff, and be-

* Gough, vol. 2. p. 226—228. † Ibid. p. 318. ‡ Ibid. p. 157.

numbed in his joints, by a cruel imprisonment for the greatest part of three years, that it was with difficulty he could mount his horse or alight, he went from Yorkshire to London. He saw it necessary to increase the number of meetings of discipline, as the exigencies and the numbers of the society were increased. In 1660, a general meeting for church-affairs had been held at Skipton in Yorkshire. The business of it was confined to the taking an account of their sufferings, and to collections for the relief of the poor. Quarterly meetings were afterward established in London, which, in addition to the former subjects of attention, had the charge of the reputation of the society, to watch over the members, and admonish and exhort such as might appear disorderly and uncircumspect in their conversation, not agreeable to the strictness of their religious profession; besides the women's meetings, which had chiefly the care of poor widows and orphans. During George Fox's stay in London there were established, at his recommendation, five monthly meetings of men and women in that city, to transact the business which had before employed the quarterly meetings, and a general meeting once in three months, as hitherto, for mutual counsel, advice, and deliberation, in relation to the common affairs and care of the whole body in the city. He afterward procured his plan of monthly meetings to be adopted through all the counties, in Scotland, Ireland, Holland, and the continent of America. The business of the monthly meetings was, at his advice and admonition, after this, extended to the taking cognizance of the orderly proceedings towards marriage, to see "that the parties who proposed marriage were clear from other engagements, that their relations were satisfied, that widows had made provision for their first husband's children before they married again, and to institute whatever other inquiries were necessary for keeping all things clean and pure, in good order and righteousness, to the glory of God."

Some time after monthly and quarterly meetings were established, viz. in the year 1669, it was found expedient, and agreed upon, to hold a general meeting in London, representative of the whole body in England, and all other parts where any of the society were settled; which has, from that time, been held annually, and is called "The Yearly Meeting in London." It is formed of deputies from

each quarterly meeting in England, and from the half year's meetings in Ireland, without restraining from an attendance any member in unity with the society. Such places in Europe and America, as are too remote conveniently to send representatives, keep up a correspondence with this meeting by epistles. A committee of correspondence in London and several counties and other places, to be consulted in the intervals between the yearly meetings, upon any emergency, was also established. The members appointed correspondents in London, to meet the sixth day in every week, to consult upon such matters as may be laid before them, particularly any suffering cases of friends, from whence it is called "The Meeting for Sufferings," and is a meeting of record.

From the meetings of discipline no members of the society are excluded. A regular record of all their proceedings is kept by a clerk, who, at the desire of the meeting, voluntarily undertakes the office. The business of these meetings is preceded by a solemn meeting of worship. An inquiry whether meetings for discipline and worship are duly attended, the preservation of love and unity, the religious education of youth, are some of the leading objects of these associations. Inquiries are also made, whether a faithful and Christian testimony is borne against the receiving or paying tithes, priests' demands, or those called church-rates? Whether friends are careful to avoid all vain sports, places of diversion, gaming, and all unnecessary frequenting of alehouses or taverns, excess in drinking, and intemperance of every kind? Whether friends are just in their dealings, and punctual in fulfilling their engagements, and are advised carefully to inspect the state of their affairs once in the year? Whether early care be taken to advise and deal with such as appear inclinable to marry contrary to the rules of the society; and whether any remove from or into monthly or two weekly meetings without certificates? And whether two or more faithful friends are deputed in each particular meeting to have the oversight thereof: and care be taken, when any thing appears amiss, that the rules of their discipline be put in practice?

This sketch of the discipline and ecclesiastical government of this society cannot fail to give us a favourable idea of the spirit and principles which actuate it. It is recom-

mended by the method and regularity which mark it: and it is a great excellence of it, that it is directed to the encouragement and promotion of good morals, of a peaceable, upright, and blameless, conduct in social life. For a more full and accurate view of its nature and design, the reader may be referred to a long and judicious disquisition on it in Mr. Gough's History:* which, when he has perused, he will determine for himself, whether it may not be justly extolled, as "bearing marks of a peculiar wisdom in the contrivance, and goodness of heart in the ends in view, realized in the beneficial effects it then had, and hath since continued to produce."

The Quakers, besides supporting a series of sufferings with patience and fortitude, disseminating their principles, through England, Wales, and Scotland, with unabating zeal, and forming their society upon a regular plan of government, traversed the Atlantic ocean, carried their sentiments into America, and established themselves in the western continent. The undertaking was arduous; new calamities and persecutions awaited them in new countries.† Their pious efforts, however, were eventually successful in the transatlantic regions. The brevity we must observe, does not allow us to go here into particulars. But two instances of their zeal, at this period, to propagate their doctrine in the foreign parts of Europe, were of so singular a nature as to call for particular notice.

About the year 1661 two women, Catharine Evans and Sarah Cheevers, moved with a religious concern to diffuse their principles, took their passage in a ship bound from London to Leghorn: after various trials and storms they arrived at that city; and, during their stay in it, they dispersed books, explaining the doctrines of the society, and discoursed with people of all ranks, numbers of whom curiosity daily drew after them: and here they met with no molestation. They sailed from thence in a Dutch ship bound to Alexandria, the master of which put into Malta. Going on shore, the day after their arrival, they were met by the English consul, who invited them to his house, where they continued about three months. They were visited by many, whom they found it their concern to call to repentance, and were repeatedly summoned before the inquisitors,

* Gough, vol. 2. p. 161—198. † Ibid. chap. 9.

whose interrogatories they answered in such a manner, as not to give them the advantage they sought, nor to resign their own principles by the least compliance with the superstitious and showy religion of the country. The consul, at last, overcome by flattery, menaces, and bribery, gave up his guests to the inquisitors, who would not venture to take them without his consent or acquiescence. Having undergone an examination, which they supported with simplicity and firmness, they were imprisoned in a close dark room, with only two little holes for light and air, and so extremely hot in that warm climate, that it seemed as if the intention of the inquisitors was to stifle them to death. This imprisonment lasted three or four years. They were continually beset and perplexed with the impertinences of monks and friars, to cajole or terrify them into their superstitions. But neither flattery nor menaces could pervert these innocent women from their profession. Upon this they were put into a room so exceedingly hot, close, and suffocating, that they were often forced to rise out of their bed, to lie down at the chink of the door for air to draw breath; their faces were excessively stung by gnats: and, such was the effect of the heat of the room and the climate, their skin was parched, their hair fell off, and they frequently fainted away. They were tempted at times, to wish for death; to end their sorrows. Catharine Evans fell into a fit of sickness, and the physician said, "they must have air, or else they would die." On this the door was ordered to be set open six hours in the day. Soon after they were separated, in hope that an impression might be made on their minds, if they were separately attacked; but each was immoveable. They not only resisted every attempt to draw them off from their religious profession to the superstitions of popery; but, as the house of inquisition was rebuilding, or repairing in some parts, for the space of a year and half, they embraced the opportunities which offered to incite the people to repentance, both the workmen who were obliging to them, and the citizens of better quality who came to view the building. The apartment of Catharine being near the street, she frequently accosted with admonitions those that passed by, many of whom would stay to hear as long as they durst, and were much affected. After enduring the severities of an imprisonment in the inquisition upwards of

three years, and several unsuccessful attempts to procure their release, George Fox engaged the friendly and humane interposition of lord D'Aubigny with the magistrates, whose mediation was effectual: and being liberated they returned to England. On their passage home, a passenger who was a knight of Malta and the inquisitor's brother, interested himself with the captain, to secure them every accommodation the ship could afford. The merchants at Leghorn, where the vessel stopped, treated them with great kindness, and supplied them with wine and other articles for their refreshment. At Tangier, the governor courteously received them, and would have given them money, which they declined accepting, though they gratefully acknowledged his kindness. They freely addressed their admonitions to him, and exhortations to amendment of life to the people who flocked to the house where they lodged. Previously to their discharge from Alexandria, their tried integrity and blameless manners had made impressions in their favour, both on the magistrates and the inquisitor, the latter of whom relaxed in his severity, and granted them the use of pen, ink, and paper, to write to their friends.*

The sufferings of these women, in the singular enterprise to which their apprehensions of duty animated them, fell short of those which befel two men in a similar undertaking: namely, John Philly and William Moore. These persons, being in Germany with other friends in the beginning of 1662, felt a concern to proceed into Hungary, and to visit the Hortesche brethren, who were a kind of Baptists that lived in a community, hundreds of them together in a family, having their goods and possessions in common; they also refused to swear or fight. This was a design attended with peculiar difficulties and perils: as it would lead them, on a long journey, through a tract of country unknown to them, and amongst people differing from them in language, in sentiments, and in manners. But, such were their views of the obligations lying upon them, they were not intimidated by the prospect of difficulties, and actually made a prosperous journey to the nearest body of that people, residing at Cushart, near Presburg, where they were pretty hospitably entertained, and dispersed some religious books, which they had taken for that purpose.

* Gough, vol. 2. p. 51—68.

From hence they set off for Pattock, a city three hundred miles farther on in Upper Hungary, and accompanied each other to Comora in Schut, an island in the Danube: encompassed with dangers on all hands; on the one side of being killed by the Turks, or of being put to death at Newhausel, according to the practice of that garrison towards those who were found there, it being tributary to the Turks, without permission. At Comora, first, Moore was apprehended, searched and stripped, and carried to the guards with his hands and feet shackled; and an insinuation was thrown out, that he should be roasted on a spit. Philly was afterward apprehended at his lodgings. They were committed to separate prisons; Moore to the stockhouse, and Philly to a room appropriated to the inhuman purpose of putting prisoners to the rack. On the next day they were brought before the inquistor to be examined; by whom, among other questions, they were asked, if they did not know that Catholics had laws to burn and torment heretics, and such as carried such books as they had with them? To which Moore warily replied, "I should not have expected such dealings among good Christians." They were for eight days repeatedly brought to examination, and insnaring questions put to them, as, what they thought of the sacrament; to which Moore replied, "the flesh profiteth little, it is the spirit that quickeneth." This inquisitor was so strangely unacquainted with the Scriptures, that in a surprise he applied to a priest present, "Sir, father, how is that?" Who, recollecting himself, said, "he did remember such an expression." The inquisitor next asked him if he would turn Catholic? To which he made this rational reply; "If I should do so for fear of favour of you, the Lord not requiring it of me, I should not have peace in my conscience, and the displeasure of the Lord would be more intolerable than yours;" adding, "that compulsion might make hypocrites, but not Christians, as it did not change the heart."

After this they were put to the torture; first, their thumbs were screwed to extort the confession of some crime, and then they were racked, with such violence in the case of Moore, that his chin was close to his breast, and his mouth so closed, that he was almost choked. They were then threatened with death. Philly, by calling out to the gover-

nor, as he was passing in his coach, obtained some redress of their calamities; and they were allowed to earn a trifle, to buy bread, by working at the wheelbarrow, though often their wages were kept back. After sixteen weeks they were conveyed in chains, by a waggon, under a guard, to general Nadash, the emperor's lord-chamberlain. They were examined before him and several lords of the kingdom, some of whom seemed affected with their answers, and none objected thereto. They were sentenced, however, to be burned, if they would not embrace the Popish religion; but the sentence was not executed; and a priest was sent to convert them. These endeavours proving ineffectual, they were removed to a place within about five German miles of Vienna, where, falling into the hands of priests, their perils became aggravated: they were again searched, their books and papers taken away, insnaring questions were put to them, and they were threatened with the execution of various tortures, and of the sentence of death. But the frauds and menaces of their persecutors were frustrated by the steadfastness of these confessors. Manacles were then put on their wrists, so small, as when locked by main force, put them to extreme pain. They were thrust into a narrow hole with some Turks, that were prisoners, where they had scarcely room to sit down. At length they found a friend in the person who was invested with the chief civil authority in the place, whose dispositions to protect them and afford them relief, were much strengthened by the influence of one Adam Bien, his barber, a religious man who had been educated among the Hortesche brethren. The priests were restrained from keeping them any longer in their hole of a prison, and using them with the cruelty they had done before. Those who had distinguished themselves by promoting malicious insults, endeavoured to ingratiate themselves; and after the prospects of obtaining their liberty had been repeatedly clouded over by the sickness of the governor, or by the attention he had been induced to give to insinuations against them, and by some renewed sufferings from the priests and soldiers, by Adam Bien's steadfast friendship, and persevering solicitations in their favour, they were released, September 1663.*

Whatever opinion may be entertained of the prudence of

* Gough, vol. 3. p. 63—85.

these and other pious persons belonging to the society of Quakers, in exposing themselves to such perils, without possessing ordinary or supernatural means of succeeding in their well-meant efforts; the patience, firmness, and fortitude, which they displayed under the most trying circumstances, must be allowed singular merit and praise. Patience and meekness, indeed, were general characteristics of this people. They met and supported the exertions of malicious violence and wanton despotism with resigned acquiescence, and in humble dependance upon divine protection and support, without fainting in their minds.

They were also distinguished, from the beginning, by their charitable regard towards each other. There were some among them, who were not only examples of steadfastness, but by their exhortations, in word and writing, encouraged their brethren to perseverance. In the time of the plague they were exemplary for the care and tenderness with which they relieved the affliction of the widows and orphans of their friends, whom that calamity carried off. They held occasional meetings in the city to provide for the necessities of the poor; and when the number of objects proved too many for the men to assist by these meetings, they called upon the most grave and tender-hearted of their female friends to aid them in the offices of humanity, who for this purpose met once a week. Not the resident inhabitants only were exercised in this care; but several, as George Whitehead, Alexander Parker, Josiah Coale, and others, came out of the country to London, as with their lives in their hands, supported by the sentiments of faith and resignation, to suffer with their friends there, whatever might be permitted to befal them, to strengthen and encourage them to keep up their meetings, to edify them with their gifts, and to visit and comfort the sick and imprisoned. And through all they were mercifully preserved from the infection, and from imprisonment in this season of danger.*

The benevolence of their minds was not confined to the acts of fraternal regards to one another, in the season of calamity and persecution, but took a wider scope. Their attention to their poor, that there should be no beggar amongst them, nor any sent to the parish for relief; and to afford their children instruction, and put them out appren-

* Gough, vol. 2. p. 149, 150.

tices to suitable trades, hath deservedly attracted notice, and commanded general approbation. They have, moreover, cheerfully paid their quota to the poor of their respective parishes, and proper objects of any denomination have been relieved by their private donations.* It frequently happened, that justices and military officers, on coming to break up their general meeting at Skipton, when they saw their accounts of their collections and disbursements, and the care taken that one county should help another, as circumstances might require, have been obliged to commend their care, and have left them undisturbed in the exercise of the laudable object of their meeting. The poor of other societies, frequently gathered in crowds upon these occasions, partook of their liberality; for it was their custom, after the meeting was over, to send to the bakers for bread, and distribute a loaf to each, how many soever they were.†

Our sketch of the history of this society will not be complete, if we do not notice some who were eminent ministers in it, and died at this period.

The first to be mentioned is Richard Hubberthorn, the son of a reputable yeoman in the north of Lancashire, who, after two months' imprisonment, through the effect of the throng of prisoners, and the vitiated air on his tender constitution, died in Newgate on the 17th of June, 1662. He was from his youth inclined to piety, sobriety, and virtue. When he arrived to years of maturity, he obtained a post in the parliament's army; and preached occasionally to the soldiers. When he joined the society of the Quakers, he quitted, agreeably to their principle of peace, his military employment. He was one of the first ministers of this society. His stature was low, his constitution infirm, and his voice weak; but he was powerful, able, and successful, as a minister. In the exercise of this office he travelled, in different parts of the nation, for the space of nine years. He knew his season, when to speak and when to be silent; when he spoke, he delivered himself with plainness and pertinency to the subject before him. He was a man of much meekness, humility, patience, and brotherly kindness; and of distinguished equanimity, neither easily depressed in adversity, nor elated in prosperity. His life was spent in acts of righteousness and the pursuit of peace, of which his latter

* Gough, vol. 2. p. 189. † Ibid. vol. 1. p. 432.

end exhibited the happy effects, the peaceful tenor of his conscience stripping death of all its terrors, and in the full assurance of faith, he looked forward to the near approach of future happiness.

About the same time, and in the same prison, died, in the twenty-eighth year of his age, having been ten years a zealous and powerful preacher, Mr. Edward Burrough. He was born in or near Underbarrow, a village in the barony of Kendal in Westmoreland, of parents in repute for their honest and virtuous conduct, and of competent substance. His puerile years exhibited proofs of manly sense and religious thoughtfulness. He was fond of the conversation of such as were in esteem for piety, and placed his satisfaction in perusing the Scriptures, in which he was well versed. He was educated in the episcopal way of worship; but, about the age of twelve years, began to frequent the meetings of the Presbyterians, till he was seventeen. He then became possessed with serious apprehensions of great deficiency in the knowledge of God and internal purity of heart, and felt considerable uneasiness and fear; and, dissatisfied with the doctrine he heard, as resulting, in his view, from mere speculation and the experience of others, and not the fruit of their own experience, he withdrew from the teachers of it. On George Fox's coming into the parts where he resided, he went to hear him preach, and afterward entered into reasoning with him upon religious subjects, The consequence was, that he joined the society of the Quakers, in which he became a most serviceable member and eminent minister. On forming this connexion, his relations discarded him, his father expelled him from his house, and he felt himself exposed to many hardships, all which evils he bore with exemplary patience. His laborious exertions, both by word and writing, were indefatigable, and his religious exercises as a preacher were the whole business of his life; he allowed himself few hours of repose, and did not appropriate one week at a time, for many years, to himself or his private concerns. He travelled through England, Scotland, Ireland, and Flanders; but the principal field of his ministerial labours was London. As he was preaching at the meeting at Bull-and-Mouth, he was violently taken down by the soldiers, and carried before alderman Brown, who committed him to Newgate. Some

weeks after, he was brought to trial at the Old-Bailey, fined by the court twenty marks, and condemned to lie in prison till he paid the fine, which amounted to perpetual imprisonment, as the principles of the Quakers led them to consider a voluntary and active compliance with the penalty as a tacit confession of guilt. A special order from the king was sent to the sheriffs for his release, and that of some other prisoners, but the magistrates of the city found means to prevent the execution of it. He met his dissolution, brought on by disease and imprisonment, with the consolatory review of a life spent in the service of his Creator. "I have had the testimony of the Lord's love unto me (said he) from my youth; and my heart, O Lord, hath been given up to do thy will. I have preached the gospel freely in this city, and have often given up my life for the gospel's sake; and now, O Lord, rip open my heart, and see if it be not right before thee." As his dissolution drew nigh, he said, "Though this body of clay must turn to dust, yet I have a testimony that I have served God faithfully in my generation: and that spirit that hath lived, and acted, and ruled in me, shall yet break forth in thousands."

Another zealous preacher among this people was William Ames, who travelled in the work of the ministry not in England only, but much in Holland and Germany, where several were convinced by him, especially in the Palatinate. These Palatines, removing soon after to Pennsylvania, escaped the general devastation of their country by the French, which happened soon after. Ames was, at first, after his mind took a serious turn, a teacher among the Baptists; he was also a military officer in Cromwell's army in Ireland, in which post, being strict and regular in his own conduct, he exerted himself to introduce and preserve the like regularity among the soldiers under his command by a strict discipline. Francis Howgill and Edward Burrough coming into Ireland, he went to hear them, and embraced their doctrine. He and several others were afterward taken, by two musketeers, out of a private house in London, forced to Paul's churchyard, where they were derided and abused by the soldiers, and afterward taken before alderman Brown, who committed them to hard labour in bridewell. Here they were so severely treated, that Ames grew dangerously ill; and being an inhabitant of

Amsterdam, he was discharged for fear of his dying in prison. He returned, upon his release, to this city, and supported himself by wool-combing, but so injured in his health, that he never recovered, but died within the current year, 1662.*

Near the close of the year 1663, John Audland, a native of Camsgill in Westmoreland, was taken off by a consumption in an early stage of life. When a child, he discovered a quick understanding and retentive memory. As he approached a state of maturity, he applied the attention of his mind to religious thought and to reading the Scriptures, and became an eminent teacher amongst the Independents, of whom he had a very numerous auditory. He was one of the principal preachers at Firbank-chapel, at the time when George Fox had a memorable meeting there, and became a convert to his doctrine, which he afterward zealously and ably exerted himself to disseminate, travelling through sundry parts of the nation with this view; foregoing the comforts of domestic life, and separating himself, with her consent, from his wife, who entered into his views, a virtuous and well-accomplished young woman, of a good family, to whom he was married about the twentieth year of his age. He was one of the earliest preachers of this persuasion, who visited the city of Bristol and the western counties. The number of his hearers increased to such a degree in that place, that, for want of a house large enough, the meetings were frequently held in an orchard. He was a partaker with his brethren in repeated imprisonments and abuses of his person. His sufferings and exertions were beyond his strength, and brought on a cough, which appeared consumptive, and finally terminated in a slow fever, that put a period to his life at the age of thirty-four years. He was not only preserved in peaceful serenity of mind at this solemn season, but at times filled even with joy at the prospect of his approaching felicity; from the impression whereof his soul, under extreme bodily weakness, was raised up in praise to the Almighty, and in prayer for the prosperity of his friends in righteousness.†

In 1667, after about fifteen years spent in acting and suffering for those doctrines he had received for truth, died Richard Farnsworth, exhorting his friends with affecting

* Gough, vol. 2. p. 2—15. † Ibid. p. 83—88.

energy and strength of spirit, as if he were in full health, and giving evidence of his full assurance of faith. He was one of the first who embraced the principles of George Fox, soon after his release from his imprisonment at Derby, while the name Quaker was but just known. He joined him in society and ministerial labours, and many were converted by him. For not pulling off his hat to a justice of peace, in the streets of Banbury, in 1656, he was, after the justice had struck it off in passion, sent for and committed to prison. Next day, when passion subsided, his release was offered him on paying the jailer's fees, and promising to leave the town that night. He would promise nothing, knowing that he had been illegally committed. The oath of abjuration was then tendered to him, and on his refusing it, he was recommitted to prison, where he lay about six months.*

In the latter part of the year 1668 and the beginning of the next, this society was deprived of three eminent and serviceable members; Thomas Loe, Josiah Coale, and Francis Howgill.

Thomas Loe was a man of fine natural temper, easy, affable, and pleasing in conversation, benevolent and sympathizing in his disposition. He travelled on foot through the greatest part of the nation, and visited Ireland several times. His gifts were attractive, and he had generally crowded audiences. He was several times imprisoned for his testimony, and his natural strength was impaired by his travels and labours. His convert, William Penn, visited him in his last sickness, whom he addressed thus: "Bear thy cross and stand faithful to God, then he will give thee an everlasting crown of glory that shall not be taken from thee. There is no other way which shall prosper than that which the holy men of old walked in. God hath brought immortality to light, and life immortal is felt. His love overcomes my heart. Glory be to his name for evermore." He accosted others with similar sentiments; and his parting breath expressed a song of praise to that almighty Being, whose goodness preserved him through life, and deserted him not in his end.†

Josiah Coale was born at Winterborne, Gloucester-

* Gough, vol. 2. p. 222, 223.
† Ibid. p. 229—231; and vol. 1. p. 318, 319.

shire, near Bristol, and received his impressions in favour of the Quakers' doctrine under the preaching of John Audland, about the year 1655. He proved an able and zealous minister: his testimony was sharp and piercing against the workers of iniquity, while it flowed in a stream of life and encouraging consolation to the pious and virtuous. In 1656, after having been first grievously abused by the populace, and dragged bareheaded under the spouts in a time of rain, he was imprisoned in Newgate, at Bristol. In the same year, he was, with three other friends, severely abused and beaten by the mob, and then committed to prison by the mayor, at Melcomb-Regis. In 1658, a sense of duty determined him to pay a religious visit to the English colonies in America. As no master of a ship would take him to New-England, for fear of the penalties enacted in that state against such as should bring in any Quakers, he got a passage, in company with Thomas Thirston, to Virginia; from whence they made their way on foot through a wilderness of several hundred miles, till then deemed impassable for any but the Indians. By these people, of the Susquehannah tribe, they were treated with remarkable attention and hospitality, entertained with lodging and provisions, and furnished with guides to the Dutch plantations. Their journey was, however, attended with great hardships and dangers. They met with very different treatment from the lofty professors of New-England, whose tempers were embittered, whose natural tenderness and compassion were eradicated by false principles of religion. Here Coale was violently haled out and sent to prison, and sometime after banished to Maryland. He travelled through this state and Barbadoes; and, in Europe, through most parts of England, in Holland, and the Low Countries; going through many perils, imprisonments, and persecutions, valiant in what he regarded as the cause of truth, undaunted in danger, and borne above the fear of man by the supports of a peaceful conscience. He not only in his travels bore his own charges abroad, but was an exemplary pattern of liberality at home, and freely spent his estate in the service to which he devoted himself. His natural temper was cheerful, religion tempered it with seriousness; his unaffected affability was mixed with a circumspect and exemplary deportment; his whole conversation illustrated

the purity of his religion, and was an ornament to his profession. After ministerial services of twelve years, he fell into a decline, and departed in the arms of his friends, as one falling into a deep sleep, full of consolation, exhorting others to "be faithful to God, and have a single eye to his glory," expressing his own confidence that "the majesty of God was with him, and his crown of life upon him," at the age of thirty-five years and two months.*

The last person to be noticed is Francis Howgill, a principal as well as early promulgator of the doctrine of the Quakers, and a valuable member of their community. He was a native of Westmoreland, and received his education, for the priest's office in the church, at the university; but, being scrupulous of complying with the ceremonies, he withdrew from the national church, and joined the Independents, and was an eminent preacher among them, laborious and zealous as a minister, and esteemed for his virtue and exemplary conversation. In 1652, he became a proselyte to the doctrines of George Fox, on hearing him at Firbank-chapel. He was, soon after this, sent, with James Naylor, to the jail at Appleby. In 1654, he and Edward Burrough, in company with Anthony Pearson, travelled to London, and were the first of this society who held meetings in that city, and by whose preaching many there were brought over to the same profession. While he was there, he went to court to intercede with Oliver Cromwell, that a stop might be put to the persecution of the members of his society, and he wrote also to the protector, on the same subject, in a plain and bold strain, but without any good effects. It does not appear, that they met with any personal molestations in the metropolis; and when they had gathered and settled meetings there, they went to Bristol. Multitudes flocked to hear them, and many embraced their doctrine. The clergy were alarmed, and they were summoned before the magistrates, and were commanded to leave the city immediately. To this order they answered: "We came not in the will of man, nor stand in the will of man, but when he shall move us to depart who moved us to come hither, we shall obey; we are free-born Englishmen, and have served the commonwealth faithfully, being free in the sight of God from the transgression of any law: to

* Gough, vol. 2. p. 231—236.

your commandments we cannot be obedient; but if by violence you put us out of the city, and have power to do it, we cannot resist." Having said this, they went out of the court, but tarried in the city, preaching as before, for some time.* In 1663, Francis Howgill was summoned before the justices, as he was in the market-place at Kendal on his business; and, for refusing the oath of allegiance, was committed to prison till the summer assizes, at which the oath was again tendered to him, and upon refusal an indictment was drawn up against him, which he traversed. But as he would not enter into bond for his good behaviour, which he considered as a tacit acquiescence in the charge of ill-behaviour, and a bar to attendance on meetings, he was recommitted to prison. At the spring assizes he was brought to his trial; when, under a rigorous sentence of premunire, he was sent back to the prison, where he remained, till released by death, for nearly five years, deprived of every comfort and convenience his persecutors could take from him. He died, after a sickness of nine days, the 20th of January, 1688—89. During his confinement he evidenced the peaceful and even tenor of his soul by his patience; and preserved to the last an amiable equanimity, which had characterized him through life, the serenity of his conscience bearing him superior to his sufferings and to the fear of death. He wrote a copious treatise against oaths, wherein he maintained the unlawfulness of swearing under the gospel. His virtues, innocence, and integrity of life, were conspicuous. He was generally respected by those who knew him; his sufferings were commiserated; and the unmerited enmity and cruelty of his persecutors condemned. Several of the principal inhabitants of Appleby, and particularly the mayor, visited him in his sickness; and some of them praying that God might speak peace to his soul, he answered, "He hath done it." He also expressed himself thus: "That he was content, and ready to die; praising the Almighty for the many sweet enjoyments and refreshing seasons he had been favoured with on that his prison bed, whereon he lay, freely forgiving all who had a hand in his restraint." A few hours before he departed, he said, "I have sought the way of the Lord from a child, and lived innocently as among men; and if

* Gough, vol. 1. p. 112. 126. 144, &c.

any inquire concerning my latter end, let them know, that I die in the faith in which I lived and suffered for." After these words, he uttered some others in prayer to God, and so finished his life in perfect peace, in the fiftieth year of his age.

Mr. Gough has preserved a letter of useful instructions, addressed to his daughter, which he left behind him. His will, made some time before his decease, bequeathed out of his real estate, his personal having been forfeited to the king, a legacy to his poor friends in those parts where he lived, and a token of his affectionate remembrance to several of his brethren and fellow-labourers in the ministry.*

CHAP. II.

FROM THE DECLARATION OF INDULGENCE TO THE REVOLUTION. A. D 1674—1688.

When the king published his declaration of indulgence, the Quakers, who did not rank with any political party, merely to enjoy the ease and liberty to which peaceable and virtuous subjects have a right, accepted the protection it afforded. But those who were at liberty, from that spirit of sympathy and brotherly concern which prevades the society, could not enjoy their own exemption from penal statutes, without exerting themselves for the relief of their brethren who had been, for several years, kept immured in uncomfortable prisons. George Whitehead, Thomas Moor, and Thomas Green, invited by the present disposition of government, waited on the king and council to solicit the discharge of their friends, who, convicted on transportation, or on premunire, or for fines, confiscations, or fees, were still in prison: and they were so successful as to obtain the king's letters patent, under the great seal, for their pardon and discharge. In the accomplishing of this business, a difficulty arose from the amount of the fees to be paid in the sundry offices through which the letters patent would pass, as up-

* Gough, vol. 2. p. 31. 96—108, and 236—241.

wards of four hundred persons would be included in them.* But when the lord-keeper, sir Orlando Bridgeman, generously and voluntarily remitted his fees, they applied to the king to moderate the rest, who accordingly issued his order, "that the pardon, though comprehending a great number of persons, do yet pass as one pardon, and pay but as one."

Their success gave them an opportunity to shew the universality of their charity to other dissenters, many of whom were confined in prison, and whose solicitors, observing the happy issue of the Quakers' suit, applied to Whitehead, for his advice and assistance, to have the names of their own friends inserted in the same instrument. In consequence of his advice they petitioned the king, and obtained his warrant for that purpose. "This I was glad of (says Whitehead), that they partook of the benefit through our industry. And indeed I was never backward to give any of them my advice for their help, when any of them in straits have applied for it; our being of different judgments and societies did not abate my sympathy or charity, even towards them who, in some cases, had been our opposers." The Quakers were thus freed, for a time, from the severities of persecution. The public testimony which they continued, in the severest times, to bear to the principles they received as truth, and the firmness with which they held their meetings at the appointed times and places, or, when kept out of their places of worship by force, assembled in the streets, baffled the scheme of establishing uniformity, countenanced and assisted by the temporizing conduct of other dissenters, and abated the heat of persecution, and blunted the edge of the sword before it reached the other sects; the more ingenuous of whom, therefore, esteemed their intrepidity, regarded them with gratitude as the bulwark that kept off the force of the stroke from themselves, and prayed that they might be preserved steadfast, and enabled to break the strength of the enemy. Some of the Baptists especially expressed a high opinion both of the people and their principles, which sustained them in undergoing sufferings that others thought of with terror.†

When the revocation of the indulgence, and the displeasure of the court against the dissenters, let loose the whole

* The patent, when made out, contained eleven skins of vellum.

† Gough's History of the Quakers, vol. 2. p. 364—368.

tribe of informers, and gave fresh spirit to persecuting magistrates; prosecutions, in every mode of distress, were renewed against this people, at the capricious will of every justice. Severe proceedings against them were grounded on the statute of premunire of James I. for refusing to swear; on the obsolete statute of 20*l.* per month, for absence from the parish-church, which penalty, or two-thirds of a person's estate, were seized by exchequer process; and for tithes, to excommunication and procuring writs *de excommunicato capiendo* to be issued, to throw them into prison. They became a prey to idle and profligate informers, encouraged and instigated by their superiors. And, instead of obtaining durable and effectual relief, their sufferings became heavier and more aggravated during the remainder of this reign to the end of it.*

In 1675, William Hall of Congleton, being fined 20*l.* for a meeting at his house, had his house broken open, and two cart-loads of goods, to the worth of 40*l.* besides a mare, were carried away. About the same time cattle and goods to the value of 100*l.* were taken from sundry persons in and about Nantwich; and from one person the bed on which he lay, and even the dunghil in his yard.†

In the next year, prosecutions on the conventicle act subsided in London, but the rigorous enforcing of the ecclesiastical laws was rarely or never suspended. The number plundered, excommunicated, imprisoned, and of those who died in prison, was too large to be recited.‡ But while the penal laws were suffered to lie dormant in London, they were enforced with rigorous severity in other parts of the nation. In one instance a poor man, with a wife and five children, had little to pay the fine for being at a meeting, but his bed, which the compassion of the officers would not permit them to seize: but the obdurate magistrate commanded them to take it. The wife, endeavouring afterward to maintain her children by baking a little bread, and selling it in the market, it was seized at one time to the value of nineteen-pence, and at another to the value of fourteen-pence. From another person for a fine of 7*l.* goods to the worth of near 18*l.* were taken.§ The distresses made this year in Nottinghamshire, upon the

* Gough, vol. 2. p. 392—397.
† Ibid. p. 406.
‡ Ibid. p. 414.
§ Ibid. p. 416, 417.

members of this society, for their religious assemblies only, amounted to 712*l.* and upwards. In the city of Hereford, as prosecutions on the law were ineffectual to suppress their meetings, lawless violence and gross abuse were offered by the populace; the windows of their meeting-houses were broken by stones, and sometimes the roof was untiled; their assemblies were interrupted by the sound of the horn, shouting and casting stones and filth, and their persons assaulted. The mob, instead of being restrained and punished for these outrages, were, if not stimulated to them, abetted and encouraged in them by the magistrates and clergy. Appeals to the quarter-sessions for redress against exorbitant exactions were unsuccessful; as the juries were overawed, or their verdicts for the appellants rejected.*

In the year 1677, the officers, encouraged by the magistrate, who acted the part of an informer, took away from six friends in Cheshire, for one meeting, 200*l.* In Gloucestershire a justice of the peace, besides indicting at the sessions twenty-seven for absence from the national worship, who had suffered deeply before on the conventicle act, and levying heavy fines, unmercifully beat some with his own hands, plucked two out of the meeting by the hair of their heads, and drew his knife, if he had not been prevented by his servants, to wound others. At Plymouth, their meetings were forcibly interrupted and dispersed: their property suffered by fines and distresses, and their persons were abused by the rabble, and by the officers and soldiers of the garrison, who, among other insults, threw squibs of fire and hot burning coals upon them. In many other parts they were treated with no less severity. The parish-officers were sometimes instigated by menacing letters, or impelled to act against their inclinations by the clergy exciting the justices to punish by fines and imprisonment, for neglect of duty, such whose moderation and humanity rendered them reluctant to prosecute or plunder their conscientious neighbours.†

Through the succeeding years they continued to be harassed with prosecutions on all the variety of penal laws; which were rigorously enforced on great numbers of this

* Gough, vol. 2. p. 420—424. † Ibid. p. 426—429. 438.

society; who suffered all the hardships imposed on them by unreasonable men, with pious fortitude and resignation. In 1682, the persecution of this people broke out, and was carried on with uncommon outrage and cruelty at Bristol. The damage done to their meeting-houses was computed at 150*l*. A rabble of rude boys was encouraged to insult and abuse the female part of the assembly, even women of repute and consideration, and to tear their dress. The signal for this attack was, "Have a care of your hoods and scarfs." Many of them were thrown into prison, where their health was endangered for want of room; many beds being crowded into one small apartment, and some were obliged to lie on the ground, in a filthy place which had been a dog-kennel. The remonstrances of the prisoners to the magistrates on the straitness and noisomeness of their prison, and the certificates of physicians on the subject, were treated with equal disregard. "As their constancy in the great duty of assembling to worship God, while at liberty, was invincible; so a prison could not confine the freedom of their spirits, or the impulse of their consciences: they continued the practice of this duty in their imprisonment." This drew on them gross abuse, even from the sheriff, who fell furiously on several, threw one headlong down to the great hazard of his life, and commanded another to be ironed and put down into the condemned felon's place. Many suffered, as in former years, and other places, by heavy fines and grievous distraints: goods to the value of 155*l*. being seized to discharge a fine of 79*l*. When most or all of the men were imprisoned, the women kept up the religious meeting, till they also were cast into jail. When their parents were in confinement, the children, after their example, regularly held their meetings, behaving on those occasions with much gravity and composure, and undergoing many abuses with patience. Their age exempted them from the lash of the law, but their minority could not screen them from furious assaults; some were put in the stocks, others were unmercifully beaten with twisted whalebone-sticks. Persecution was not at this period peculiar to Bristol; but carried on, in most parts, with great animosity: and many families were ruined in their circumstances. In 1683, about eighty persons were,

at one time, committed to Chester-castle; where they could find neither rooms nor lodgings for such a number, so that they were obliged for two nights, some of them to walk about, others to lie on tables and benches, and some on flags spread on the floor. At length thirty of them were put into a filthy dungeon, out of which the felons were then removed. In Somersetshire, informers were encouraged against them, and protected in perjury; their meeting-houses were defaced, and they were, in great numbers, imprisoned, fined, distrained, and excommunicated. When shut out of their meeting-houses for divers years, in and about the city of London, they assembled in the streets in all weather; this they did in the year 1683, for three months together, when the river Thames was so frozen that horses, coaches, and carts, could pass to and fro upon it, and a street be erected and stand over it.* There was computed to be upwards of seven hundred members of this society in the different prisons of England this year. Sir Christopher Musgrave, though a zealous churchman, expressed his utter dislike of the severe usage of this people, saying, "the prisons were filled with them, that many of them had been excommunicated and imprisoned for small matters, and that it was a shame and scandal for their church to use the Quakers so hardly on very trivial occasions."† Severe prosecutions, similar acts of injustice, oppression, violence, and cruelty, against this society, marked the year 1684, which were the disgrace of the preceding years.‡

Among those who suffered from bigotry armed with power, the name of George Fox takes the lead. After his return from America, in 1673, as he was on the road to visit his mother on her death-bed, Fox and Thomas Lower who was his wife's son-in-law, were seized, as they were in conversation in a friend's parlour at Tredington in Worcestershire, and sent to the county jail. They applied, by letter, to the lord-lieutenant and deputy-lieutenant of the county, for the interposition of their authority for their release; stating their case, the illegality of their commitment, and Fox's solicitude for liberty to pay the last debt of affection and duty to his dying parent. But the application was ineffectual. Lower, by the interposition of his

* Gough, vol. 2, p. 522, 525, 528, 532, 547, 48. † Ibid. p. 536, 508.
‡ Ibid. vol. 3, p. 21, 30.

brother, who was the king's physician, might have obtained his liberty; as a letter to lord Windsor for his release was procured: but, bearing too great a respect to his father-in-law, to leave him in prison alone, he suppressed the letter, and voluntarily continued his companion there. At the quarter-sessions they were produced in court, when, on the examination, it appearing that they had been causelessly imprisoned, and had a right to an immediate release, the oaths of allegiance and supremacy were tendered to Fox, and on his refusing to take them, he was remanded. But Lower, on account of his powerful connexions, was discharged. Soon after Fox was removed by a habeas corpus to the King's-bench-bar at Westminster. The judges, influenced by the reports and representation which Parker, the justice who first apprehended him, had dispersed, remanded him to Worcester jail; only indulging him with liberty to go down his own way, and at his leisure, provided he would not fail to be there by the following assizes, in April 1674. He accordingly appeared, when the judge Turner, who had before passed sentence of premunire against him at Lancaster, referred the matter back again to the sessions. He was then charged with holding a meeting at Tredington from all parts of the nation, to the terrifying of the king's subjects. Though Fox vindicated himself from this misrepresentation, yet, as he again refused the oaths, an indictment was drawn up and delivered to the jury; who, under the instruction of the chairman, found the bill against him. This he determined to traverse: and on refusing to give bail, or any other security for his appearance but his promise, he was sent back to prison. By the interposition of some moderate justices, however, in about two hours after he had liberty given him to go at large till the next quarter-sessions. In the mean time he attended the yearly meeting in London, and delivered before some of the justices of the King's-bench a declaration of his fidelity to the king, and denial of the pope's supremacy and power: but as his case was under cognizance of the quarter-sessions at Worcester, the judges were unwilling to meddle with it, not being regularly before them. At the next sessions he appeared to traverse the indictment: but when he proceeded to shew the errors which were sufficient to quash it, the oath was again required of

him, and upon his refusal to take it, the jury found him guilty. An admonition of the consequence of a premunire being given him in court, this was, after he was sent out of court, clandestinely recorded in his absence, for the sentence thereof; and under it he was remanded to prison. Here he was seized with a great sickness, which reduced him to extreme weakness, and made his recovery doubtful. His wife came from the north to attend him, and solicit his discharge: after continuing with him three or four months, and her endeavours to procure his release proving unsuccessful, she went to London, and solicited the king in person, who would have released him by a pardon; but Fox declined obtaining his liberty in this mode, as he conceived that it would be a tacit acknowledgment of guilt; and he declared, "he had rather lie in prison all his days, than come out in any way dishonourable to the truth he made profession of." He preferred having the validity of his indictment tried before the judges, and with this view procured a habeas corpus to remove him to the King's-bench-bar. On his appearing before four judges, his counsellor, Mr. Thomas Corbet, advanced a new plea in his favour, and gained himself great credit, by ably urging, "that by law they could not imprison a man upon premunire." The judges required time to consult their books and statutes on this plea; and postponed the hearing until next day. They then proceeded, though they found the advocate's opinion well founded, to examine the indictment, in which the errors were so many and so gross, that they were unanimous in judgment, "that the indictment was quashed and void, and that George Fox ought to be set at liberty." Thus he honourably obtained his discharge, after an unjust imprisonment of a year and almost two months. Some of his enemies, insinuating "he was a dangerous man to be at liberty," moved the judges, that the oaths might be tendered to him: but sir Matthew Hale would not consent to it; saying, "he had indeed heard some such reports of George Fox, but he had also heard more good reports of him."*

He appears to have been unmolested after, till the year 1681, when he and his wife were sued in small tithes in the exchequer, although they had in their answer to the plain-

* Gough, vol. 2. p. 377—391.

tiff's bill proved, that no such tithe had been demanded or paid off her estate during forty-three years she had lived there: yet because they could not answer upon oath, they were run up to a writ of rebellion, and an order of court was issued to take them both into custody. Fox, understanding this, laid the case before the barons of the exchequer. On the hearing of the cause a sequestration was earnestly pleaded for, on the ground of his being a public man, as if that affected the merits and justice of the cause; and was obtained, though at first two of the barons declared that he was not liable to tithes: but one of them was afterward brought over to decide with the adverse barons: the sequestration was, however, limited to the sum proved due, to the great disappointment of the prosecutor's aim, who wanted it without limitation, that they might be their own carvers in making distraint. In the course of this trial was produced an engagement, under the hand and seal of George Fox, that he would never meddle with his wife's estate: this raised the admiration of the judges, as an instance of self-denial rarely to be met with in these ages.*

In 1680, George Whitehead and Thomas Burr, as they were on a journey from different quarters to pay a religious visit to their friends, happened to meet at Norwich. As the former was preaching on the succeeding first day of the week, a rude company, chiefly of informers, rushed into the meeting with tumult and violence, and pulled him down; to the requisition to shew some legal authority for their proceedings, they returned abusive language, only with an insinuation to the people, "that he might be a Jesuit." The sheriff, coming afterward, took them prisoners, and carried them before the recorder, Francis Bacon, esq., who was a justice. He examined them of their names, habitations, and trades; "if they were in orders, or had orders from Rome." A fine of 20*l.* each was demanded of them; on refusing to pay this, the oath of allegiance was proposed. While the examination was going on, the informer, with the sanction of the justice, went to seize their horses, but was disappointed in his attempt, as they had been removed without the knowledge of the prisoners. The recorder poured out his bitter invectives, and threatened to have them hanged, if they did not abjure the realm, and if the

* Gough, vol. 2. p. 514, 515.

king would by his orders enforce the execution of a statute made in the reign of queen Elizabeth. They were then committed to jail till the ensuing sessions. Then, after the recorder had, by taunting reflections and partial proceedings, expressed his aversion to them, they were discharged by the court from the charges exhibited in the mittimuses; but as they refused again the oath, which he insisted upon administering to them, they were recommitted to prison till the following sessions. In the mean time he was deprived of his office; in consequence of which change and the interposition of friends, they were, at the sessions, cleared by proclamation, and discharged from their imprisonment, after a confinement of sixteen weeks. It shewed the prejudice and enmity of this man, that he first insinuated that they were probably Papists; and when they procured certificates to the contrary, he would not permit them to be read in the court.*

In the next and succeeding year, George Whitehead was fined three or four times: and the loss he sustained by distraints, and by the expenses of inefficacious appeals, besides the damage done to his house and goods, amounted to *61l. 7s.* The evil of those seizures was aggravated by a particular instance of injustice in the distrainers, who would not suffer an inventory to be taken, or the goods, chiefly in grocery ware, to be weighed or appraised. On one occasion two friends, for persuading the constables to moderation and to suffer an inventory to be taken, were apprehended and prosecuted for a riot, on the evidence of one constable; for which they were fined, committed to Newgate, and confined there ten weeks.†

The fines levied on this people, on the statute of *20l.* for absence from the national worship, amounted, in the year *1683*, to the enormous sum of *16,400l.* for which several were distrained; but how much of these fines was actually levied, is not certainly known.

In this year the case of Richard Vickris deserves particular notice. He was the son of Mr. Robert Vickris, a merchant and alderman of Bristol; he embraced the sentiments of the Quakers in his youth: but to divert him from joining them, his father sent him abroad to travel in France. Here he was a witness to the superstitions of the ceremonious re-

* Gough, vol. 2. p. 501—505. † Ibid. p. 520, 521.

ligion of that country; which created a disgust, and confirmed him in the adoption of one that rejected ceremony and vain show. His father's views were disappointed, and on his return home, he openly professed himself a Quaker, at the risk of a variety of sufferings and hardships. In 1680 he was imprisoned upon an excommunication: he was afterward, for attending meetings, subject to frequent fines and distraints, and at last he was proceeded against on the statute of the 35th of Elizabeth. At the sessions before Easter, in 1683, he was indicted on that statute; demurring to the jurisdiction of the court, and refusing to plead, he was committed to prison. At a following sessions he was admitted to bail: and at the Midsummer sessions procured a habeas corpus. His trial was hastily brought on in August, though he solicited time to prepare his defence. He found means however to retain counsel, who ably pleaded his cause, assigned a variety of errors in his indictment, and shewed that the witnesses had not established the charge against him. The court overruled every plea, and the jury (selected from men of mean occupation) found their verdict guilty; and sentence was passed on him to conform, or abjure the realm in three months; or suffer death as a felon without benefit of clergy. He lay in prison under this sentence till the next year; when the time for his abjuring the realm being expired, he was liable to the execution of it, to which his enemies seemed determined to proceed. That they might give some colour to their design, they blackened and calumniated his character; representing him as a person disaffected to government, and endeavouring, before they took away his life, to despoil him of his good name. His wife, in her distress, determined on a personal application to government; with this view, she took a journey to London, and by the assistance of her friends got admission to the duke of York, who bore the chief sway at court, and laid her husband's hard case before him. When he had heard it, he replied, "that neither his royal brother nor himself desired that any of his subjects should suffer for the exercise of their consciences, who were of peaceable behaviour under his government." Accordingly, effectual directions for his discharge were given. He was removed by habeas corpus from Newgate in Bristol to London, and brought to the King's-bench-bar: there, upon the errors in

the indictment assigned by counseller Pollexfen, he was legally discharged by sir George Jefferies. His father survived his return only three days, by whose will he succeeded to his estate and seat at Chew-Magna; in which he fixed his residence, and lived in honour, conspicuous for his virtue and benevolence, and an ornament to his place and station.*

The Quakers, under the severe sufferings to which their body in general, and some individual members of their society in particular, were exposed, were not wanting in lawful and commendable measures to procure an exemption from these grievous evils. In the year 1674, application was made to the judges, before they went their several circuits, for their compassionate attention to the hard cases of several of the sufferers, and to interpose their authority to secure them relief, in the following address:

"To the king's justices appointed for the several circuits throughout England.

"Many of our friends, called Quakers, being continued prisoners, many prosecuted to great spoil by informers, and on *qui-tam* writs, and by presentments and indictments for 20*l.* per *mensem*, in divers counties throughout England, only on the account of religion and tender conscience towards Almighty God, we esteem it our duty to remind you of their suffering condition, as we have done from time to time, humbly entreating you in the circuits to inquire into the several causes of their commitments, and other sufferings which they lie under, and to extend what favour you can for their ease and relief; praying the Almighty to preserve and direct you."†

But little redress could be obtained. In 1677, an account being taken, at the yearly meeting, of sufferings by confiscation to two-thirds of the estates of those who had been prosecuted on the 23d of Elizabeth, a specification of this grievance was drawn up and laid before the parliament then sitting, with a petition for relief, but without effect.‡ Towards the close of this year George Fox, having returned from Holland, and visited the meetings of his friends in various parts of England, on coming to London, found them engaged in fresh solicitations for relief from prosecutions on the laws made against Popish recusants only; and

* Gough, vol. 2. p. 539–541. † Ibid. p. 691. ‡ Ibid. p. 425.

he joined them in these applications; but a sudden prorogation of parliament put a stop to their proceedings. When it met again, he, William Penn, George Whitehead, and others, renewed their suit, and they conceived some hopes of relief, as many of the members, convinced that they suffered grievously and unjustly, and were much misrepresented by their adversaries, manifested a tender and compassionate regard towards them. But the attention of parliament was soon called off by the discovery of what was called the Popish plot; an advantage was taken of the alarm this occasioned, to increase the rigorous persecution of a people of opposite principles and conduct, under the pretext of the necessity, at this season of danger, to exert additional vigilance in guarding against seditious assemblies; and some members, whose residence, occupation, and manner of life, were well known, were imprisoned under a pretended suspicion of being Papists or concealed Jesuits.* Penn had several years before this been happily successful in solicitations for friends suffering by heavy fines and imprisonments in Ireland: for at a half-yearly meeting held at his house in 1670, an account of their sufferings was drawn up in an address to the lord-lieutenant, which was presented to him, and an order of council obtained for the release of those who were imprisoned.† In Scotland the persecuted members of this society met with an advocate in Barclay, and owed some relief to his powerful exertions. In 1676, the magistrates of Aberdeen made a handle of the declaration issued by the council at Edinburgh, reinforcing former acts of parliament against conventicles, to oppress the Quakers, many of whom were seized, committed to prison, detained near three months without being called before the commissioners, and, notwithstanding the able defence they set up, were fined in different sums, but in general to a heavy amount, and remanded to prison till the fines were paid. Robert Barclay being then in London, gained admittance to the king, delivered to him a narrative of the severe and irregular proceedings of the magistrates, and interceded with him to recommend their case to the favourable notice of the council of Scotland. On this the king ordered the earl of Lauderdale to recommend the narrative to their consideration. The matter was referred to the

* Gough, vol. 2, p. 153–155. † Ibid. p. 179.

former commissioners in conjunction with three others: but their liberty was not obtained, till the fines were discharged by exorbitant and oppressive distraints!* When, in 1680, the Quakers were maliciously represented as concerned in the Popish plot, George Fox published a declaration, addressed to the parliament, in defence of himself and friends, to remove such suspicions, professing it to be their principle and testimony to deny and renounce all plots and plotters against the king or any of his subjects; that in tenderness of conscience they could not swear or fight, but that they would use every endeavour in their power to save the king and his subjects, by discovering all plots and plotters that should come to their knowledge: and praying not to be put on doing those things, which they had suffered so much and so long for not doing."† When in the same year a bill was brought into parliament to exempt his majesty's Protestant subjects, dissenting from the church of England, from the penalties of the act of the 35th of Elizabeth, the Quakers, with a laudable attention to their own ease, and from a generous sympathy with their friends under persecution, improved the favourable opportunity for promoting liberty of conscience. Divers of them attended the committee, when the bill was committed, early and late, in order to solicit the insertion of such clauses as might give ease to the tender consciences of their friends, whose religious dissent was scrupulous in some matters beyond other dissenters; and they obtained a clause to be inserted for accepting a declaration of fidelity instead of the oath of allegiance. Although this design failed, by the bill being lost, yet a foundation was laid for reviving and completing it in the succeeding reign of king William III. But in the following year an event took place, which must be considered as giving a turn to the fortunes of this society, and advancing them, in the event, to a peculiar degree of respectability and influence. Sir William Penn had, at the time of his death, a considerable debt due to him from the crown, either for arrears or advances made to government in the sundry expeditions in which he was engaged, while he was employed as an admiral, both under Oliver Cromwell and king Charles II. To discharge this debt the king, by letters patent bearing date the 4th of March 1680-1,

* Gough, vol. ii. p. 460 470. † Ibid. p. 506.

granted to his son William Penn, and his heirs, that province lying on the west of the river of Delaware, in North America, formerly belonging to the Dutch, and then called the New Netherlands. This grant, by which Penn and his heirs were made governors and absolute proprietors of that tract of land, was owing to the influence of the duke of York, with whom admiral Penn was a peculiar favourite. In the summer of 1682, Penn took possession of this province, and he formed a government in it on the most liberal principles, with respect to the rights of conscience. The leading article of his new constitution was this: "That all persons living in this province, who confess and acknowledge the one almighty and eternal God, to be the creator, upholder, and ruler, of the world, and that hold themselves obliged in conscience to live peaceably and justly in civil society, shall in nowise be molested or prejudiced for their religious persuasion or practice in matters of faith and worship; nor shall they be compelled at any time to frequent or maintain any religious worship, place, or ministry, whatsoever." This settlement, in the first instance, afforded an asylum to many of his friends, who were glad to remove to a government formed on principles of humanity, and with a religious regard to justice and equity.* When the system of legislation was matured and completed, it excited the admiration of the universe. This oppressed society, in a few years, had the happiness and honour of seeing its tenets fixed on the other side of the Atlantic in security and peace, and itself extending through a wide territory, which enlarged the domains of their native country, and made a principal figure in the new world. The wisdom and virtues of the founder of this government, the excellent principles on which it was formed, and the prosperity to which it rose, reflected credit on the Quakers, and gave them weight in the political scale. Civil society has felt its obligations to them. And from this time their religious profession became more and more secure and respectable. The prognostications of William Penn, it hath been observed, have been remarkably verified. "If friends here keep to God, and in the justice, mercy, equity, and fear, of the Lord, their enemies will be their footstool."

During the preceding period, from the declaration of in-

* Gough, vol. 2. p. 515; and vol. 3. p. 131—147.

dulgence to the end of Charles II.'s reign, this society lost several active and eminent members by death.

Among these was William Baily, who died 1675, at sea, in his voyage from the West Indies. He had preached among the Baptists at Pool in Dorsetshire, when convinced by the ministry of George Fox, he embraced the principles of the Quakers in 1655, among whom he became a bold and zealous preacher, not in England only, but while he followed a seafaring life in distant countries, being concerned to propagate righteousness, whenever an opportunity presented itself, and he displayed a like fortitude in suffering for his testimony; for he was frequently imprisoned in different jails, both during the time of the commonwealth and after the restoration. He also suffered much corporal abuse by blows, by being thrown down and dragged along the ground by the hair of his head, trampled upon by a corpulent man, and his mouth and jaws attempted to be rent asunder. On a voyage from Barbadoes he was visited with a disease, which terminated his life and sufferings. Among other sensible observations, expressive of the serenity of his mind, and of devout confidence and hope, addressing himself to the master of the vessel, he said, "Shall I lay down my head in peace upon the waters?* Well, God is the God of the whole universe; and though my body sink, I shall live atop of the waters." He afterward added, "the creating word of the Lord endures for ever."†

In 1679, died, at Goodnestone-court in Kent, in the sixty-third year of his age, Isaac Pennington, of Chalfont in Buckinghamshire, an honourable, useful, and virtuous mem-

* Gough's History of the Quakers, vol. 2. p. 407—411.

† This William Baily married Mary Fisher, a woman of singular ardour and resolution in the propagation of her religious principles; for, besides going to Boston in America, and meeting severe sufferings there, she engaged, after her return to England, in a more arduous undertaking. This was to pay a visit to sultan Mahomet IV. encamped with his army near Adrianople. She proceeded on her way as far as Smyrna, when the English consul stopped her, and sent her back to Venice. Not disheartened from the prosecution of her design, she made her way by land, and escaped any manner of abuse, through a long journey of five or six hundred miles. She went to the camp alone, and obtained an audience of the sultan, who received her with great courtesy, and heard her with much seriousness and gravity, invited her to stay in the country, and offered her a guard to Constantinople. This she declined, but reached that city in safety without the least injury or insult, and afterward arrived in England. The conduct of the Mahometans towards her, as Gough remarks, was a striking contrast to that of the professors of New-England. "We cannot but regret (he properly adds), that the best religion the world was ever blessed with, and in its own purity so far surpassing in excellence, should, on comparison with human infidelity, be so tarnished through the degeneracy of its professors, who, under the name of Christians, in morality, generosity, and humanity, fall far short of those who name not the name of Christ."—Gough, vol. 1. p. 123.

ber of this society. He was heir to a fair inheritance, being the eldest son of alderman Pennington of London, a noted member of the long-parliament, and nominated, though he never sat, one of the king's judges. His education had all the advantages the schools and universities of his own country could afford him; his rank in life threw him into the company of some of the most learned and considerable men of the age; his understanding was by nature good; his judgment and apprehension quick; his disposition was mild and affable; and his conversation cheerful, but guarded; equally divested of moroseness and levity. From his childhood he was religiously-inclined, and conversant with the Scriptures; the wonder of his acquaintance for his awful frame of mind and retired life. When he first met with the writings of the Quakers, he threw them aside with disdain; and, when he fell into conversation with some of them, though they engaged his affectionate regard, yet he could not but view them in a contemptuous light, as a poor and weak generation. But, afterward being invited to a meeting in Bedfordshire, where George Fox preached, his prejudices gave way; he joined the society, against all the influence of connexions and worldly prospects, and became a very eminent and serviceable member in it. He diligently visited and administered to the afflicted in body and mind. He opened his heart and house to the reception of friends. His preaching was very successful in proselyting many, and conforming many. He was an excellent pattern of piety, virtue, and the strictest morality. He was a most affectionate husband, a careful and tender father, a mild and gentle master, a sincere and faithful friend, compassionate and liberal to the poor; affable to all, ready to do good to all men, and careful to injure none. But neither rank of life, benevolence of disposition, inculpable innocence of demeanour, nor the universal esteem of his character, could secure him from the sufferings attendant upon his religious profession. His imprisonments were many, and some of them long and severe. These he bore with great firmness and serenity, and the sharp and painful distemper, which put an end to his life, gave no shock to his internal peace.*

In the next year, 1680, died, leaving behind him deep impressions of grateful respect and honourable esteem in the hearts of many, Giles Barnadiston, of Clare in Suffolk,

* Gough, vol. 2. p. 439—447.

aged fifty-six. He was born in 1684, of a respectable and opulent family, and being designed for the pulpit in the establishment, he received a liberal education both in seminaries of literature, and at the university, where he spent six years. But when he was called on to accept an offer of preferment in the church and to take orders, from a consciousness of wanting the internal purity and spiritual wisdom essential to a minister of the gospel, he resolutely declined the proposal. Though in this instance he was governed by a just and serious view of things, he had not firmness to resist the allurements of pleasure and sensual gratifications. On the breaking out of the civil war he obtained a colonel's commission in the army; but he soon grew weary of a military life, accompanied with violence and bloodshed, laid down his commission, and retired to Wormingford-lodge in Essex, commenced a stricter life than before, and became thoughtful about the way of salvation. In this state of mind he felt an inclination to acquaint himself with the principles of the Quakers, and in 1661 invited some of them to his house; the consequence of his conversation with George Fox the younger, and George Weatherly, who paid him a visit, was his joining himself with this society; and he willingly took part in the storm of persecution to which this people were exposed, and constantly attended their religious meetings in the hottest time of it. In 1669 he removed to Clare, the place of his nativity, and in the same year he made his appearance in the ministry, in which he acquitted himself with faithfulness, fervency, wisdom, and success. He had but a tender constitution; yet, animated by a devotedness to the glory of God, and by a generous concern to promote the well-being of mankind, he took many journeys, and travelled into Holland, as well as divers parts of England, to make known to others what he judged to be the truth. He died on his return from London to Chelmsford, after a short illness, in which he expressed his resignation, "that the Lord was his portion, and that he was freely given up to die, which was gain to him."*

In 1681 died, at Stafford, where he had resided several years, and left a good report among the inhabitants of the town, Thomas Taylor, aged sixty-five years, an ancient and

* Gough, vol. 2. p. 549—553.

faithful minister of this society. He was born at or near Shipton in Yorkshire, about the year 1616, and received a liberal education at the university of Oxford. He was first a lecturer in this county, and then obtained a living in Westmoreland, which he held till the year 1652, when he voluntarily relinquished it. His audience was principally composed of Puritans, among whom he ranked, for he declined the use of ceremonies, and would neither baptize children at the font, nor sign them with the sign of the cross. On having an interview with George Fox, at Swarthmore, he embraced his doctrine, and joined him as a companion in his travels and ministerial labours. He resigned his living on a conviction of the unlawfulness of preaching for hire. He travelled through many parts of England, disseminating the doctrine of the Quakers, which he maintained at Oxford against the learned Dr. Owen, at that time vice-chancellor of the university, with great advantage in the opinion of the academics. But his travels were interrupted by a succession of imprisonments, one of which lasted for ten years, till Charles II. issued his letters patent for the general discharge of the Quakers from prison, in 1672. Supported by consciousness of a good cause, and patient acquiescence in the divine disposals, he held his integrity to the last.*

In 1684 died William Bennet, of Woodbridge in Suffolk, a man of a religious turn of mind from his infancy, which, as he grew up, led him to associate with the strictest professors. His first connexions were among the Independents; he then joined the Quakers, and continued a steady, serviceable, and honourable member of their society till his death. He travelled in the exercise of his ministry, edifying his friends and making converts, through many parts of England, adorning his character by the innocence and integrity of his life, so as to gain universal esteem, and to extort from his adversaries an acknowledgment of his personal merit. Yet his sufferings were remarkable; he appears to have spent, at least in the latter part of his life, nearly as much if not more time in prison, than in the enjoyment of his liberty; till growing weaker and weaker, by close and continued confinement, he fell a sacrifice to the sentence of partial magistrates, and the forced construction of unequal laws.

* Gough, vol. 2. p. 554—557.

This year died also, in Carlisle jail, Thomas Stordy, descended from a family of repute in Cumberland, and born to the inheritance of a handsome estate. About middle age he became seriously thoughtful in the pursuit of pure religion. He first joined the Independents, among whom his talents, in exhortations and religious exercises, were highly esteemed. After some time he left them, and connected himself with the Quakers; in this society he spent the remainder of his life, respected in his neighbourhood as a man of circumspect, sober, and temperate demeanour, upright in his dealings, obliging in his disposition, hospitable in his house, and liberally charitable to the poor around him. But this honest, respectable citizen was harassed by prosecution upon prosecution, and penalty upon penalty; he was detained a close prisoner at Carlisle, under a premunire, till released by the king's declaration in 1672. He was fined for a meeting, when he was under restraint several miles from it. On the statute of the 23d of Elizabeth he was cast into jail, and confined there several years, till his death. Not long before his decease, being visited by some of his friends, he encouraged them to faithfulness in these words: "If you continue faithful unto the Lord whilst you live in this world, he will reward you, as he now rewards me, with his sweet peace." He was so confident in his opinion concerning tithes, that he not only refused to pay, but to receive them; for inheriting from his ancestors an impropriation of 10*l.* per annum, he quitted all claim to it for himself, his heirs and assigns for ever, and by a legal instrument released the owners of the lands from whence the tithes accrued.*

Another eminent minister and member of this society, who finished a useful life this year, was William Gibson of London. He was born at Caton in Lancashire in 1629, and in the civil wars enlisted as a soldier. Being in the garrison at Carlisle, he went to a Quakers' meeting, with three of his comrades, to insult and abuse the preacher; arriving at the place before his companions, after the minister had begun, he was so impressed and affected, that, instead of executing his purpose, he stepped up near to the preacher to defend him from insult, if it should be offered. From that time he frequented the meetings of the society,

* Gough, vol. 2. p. 34--37.

soon quitted his military employment, and after three years became a preacher. In 1662 he married, and settled near Warrington, and his ministry, while resident in that country, was very successful; and on his removal, he left a good report, and impressions of affectionate respect to his memory. He afterward fixed in London, where his service was conspicuous against hypocrisy, formality, and libertinism, and his circumspect conversation was a credit to his ministry. He suffered persecution in the loss of substance by various distraints, in divers imprisonments, and in personal abuses. In Shropshire, the jailer would not permit his food to be taken to him, but obliged him to draw it up by a rope, and also threw him down a pair of stone stairs, whereby his body was greatly bruised, and beat him to that degree that he was ill near six months. He was engaged in some controversies concerning tithes; was the author of several treatises serviceable at the time, and employed a part of of his time in his imprisonments in writing epistles to his friends for their edification in righteousness. He died, recommending union, and exhorting to faithfulness and confidence in the Lord, at the age of fifty-five, and his funeral was attended to Bunhill-fields by many hundreds of friends and others.*

While the society derived honour, at this period, from the virtues of character, and fortitude under sufferings, of distinguished members, it was greatly indebted to the able writings of Penn and Barclay. The former, the year before the king's declaration, 1671, employed the time of his confinement in prison, in writing "The great cause of Liberty of Conscience briefly debated and defended;" and several other pieces. In 1675, on account of the divisions and animosities prevailing in the nation, he published a treatise, entitled, "England's Present Interest considered;" to shew the consistency of a general liberty of conscience with the peace of the kingdom; and the remedies which he proposes to be adopted for allaying the heat of contrary interests were "an inviolable and impartial maintenance of English rights; our superiors governing themselves upon a balance, as near as may be, towards the several religious interests; and a sincere promotion of general and practical religion." Solid reasoning and a multitude of authorities are employ-

* Gough, vol. 3. p. 154—157.

ed to support these propositions, which form the groundwork of the treatise: "a work (says Gough), wherein the liberal charity of real Christianity, and the candid spirit of genuine patriotism, are eminently conspicuous." The preface, addressed to the higher powers, exhibits a pathetic representation of the severities of the times; when "to see the imprisoned was crime enough for a jail; to visit the sick, to make a conventicle: when whole barns of corn were seized, thrashed, and carried away; parents left without their children; children without their parents; and both without subsistence. But that which aggravates the cruelty (he adds) is, the widow's mite hath not escaped their hands; they have made her cow the forfeiture of her conscience, not leaving her a bed to lie on, nor a blanket to cover her; and what is yet more barbarous, and helps to make up this tragedy, the poor orphan's milk, boiling over the fire, hath been flung to the dogs, and the skillet made part of the prize; so that had not nature in neighbours been stronger than cruelty in such informers, to open her bowels for their relief and subsistence, they must have utterly perished." In the same year in which this piece appeared, Penn likewise wrote a treatise on oaths, to shew the reason for not swearing at all.*

A work of extensive and permanent celebrity came this year from the pen of Robert Barclay, entitled, "An Apology for the true Christian Divinity, being an explanation and vindication of the principles and doctrines of the people called Quakers." It was prefaced with an address to king Charles II. remarkable for its plain dealing and honest simplicity, and as important, curious, and extraordinary, as any part of the work. It has been admired both by our own countrymen and strangers. The work itself has been universally allowed to surpass every thing of its kind, and to set the principles of the Quakers in the fairest light possible. The author sent two copies of it to each of the public ministers, then at the famous congress of Nimeguen, where it was received with all imaginable favour and respect, and the knowledge, charity, and disinterested probity, of its author justly applauded. It was printed in Latin at Amsterdam 1676, and was quickly translated into High Dutch, Low Dutch, French, and Spanish. As it attracted great notice,

* Gough, vol. 2. p. 397—400.

so it drew out various answers, abroad and at home; some from the pens of men who had before gained a considerable reputation in the learned world. These replies contributed to spread and advance the fame of Barclay's work; and it is remarkable, that while these have been little regarded and sunk into oblivion, this treatise maintains its celebrity. Though it had not the desired effect of stopping the persecution against the people in whose cause it was written, "yet it answered (as it is observed) a more important end, by shewing, that the pretences upon which they were persecuted, were false and ill-grounded; and that those who on one side represented them as concealed Papists, and such as on the other hand denied their being Christians, were equally in the wrong, and equally misled by their prejudices." The work did, in this view, great service to those of the author's persuasion; while Quakerism, which before had been looked on as a heap of extravagances and visions, assumed in this treatise a systematic form, was reduced to fixed principles, and recommended itself to the judicious and enlightened mind. "It was an essay (says Gough) to strip Quakerism of the disguise in which enmity or ignorance had dressed it up, and to represent it to the world in its genuine shape and complexion. A work which, with unprejudiced readers, answered the end of its publication, and gained the author the approbation of the ingenuous in general."* It is some proof of the high estimation in which it hath been held, that Mr. Baskerville printed a very elegant edition of it. A Scots poet, writing of the two famous Barclays, William and John, hath concluded with these verses upon Robert:

> "But, lo! a third appears, with serious air;
> His prince's darling, and his country's care.
> See his religion, which so late before
> Was like a jumbled mass of dross and ore,
> Refin'd by him, and burnish'd o'er with art,
> Awakes the spirits, and attracts the heart."†

In 1676 Barclay published a work entitled, "The Anarchy of the Ranters and other Libertines, the hierarchy of the

* Gough, vol. 2. p. 401—406. Biographia Britan. vol. 2. second edit. art. Barclay. Dictionnaire des Heresies, vol. 2. p. 460. Mosheim, however, has not treated this work with candour or justice, but endeavours to depreciate it, and asperses the author, charging him with duplicity, and with giving a fallacious account of the principles of this society. By which he has exposed himself to the just animadversions of the historian of this society. Mosheim's Eccles. History, vol. 5. p. 36, note (b), second edit. and Gough, *ut supra*.

† Biographia Brit. vol. 2. p. 602, of the second edit.

Romanists and other pretended churches, equally refused and refuted." This is pronounced to be a learned and excellent treatise, containing as much sound reasoning as any book of its size in ours, or perhaps in any modern language. The design of it was to vindicate the discipline established among the Quakers, against those who accused them of confusion and disorder on one hand, or calumniated them with tyranny and imposition on the other. The causes and consequences of superstition on one hand, and of fanaticism on the other, we are told, are laid open in this very curious and instructive work, with much solidity and perspicuity.* It drew upon its author, at the time of its appearance, much reproach and invective from certain separatists, who had risen up several years.

The leaders of these separatists were, John Wilkinson and John Story, two ministers in the north, who took disgust at the discipline of the society, as an imposition on gospel liberty, and setting up some men in the church to usurp authority over their brethren: "pleading that nothing ought to be given forth in the church of Christ but by way of advice or recommendation; and that every man ought to be left at his liberty to act according to the light of his own conscience, without censure, or being accountable to any man, but to God, the sole proper judge of conscience." They particularly objected to women's meetings, as usurping authority in the church, contrary to the apostle Paul's prohibition. They gained over adherents from the weaker and looser members of the society; and caused a rent and division in the quarterly meeting of Westmoreland, to which they belonged. After several publications on this occasion, *pro* and *con*, especially by William Rogers, a merchant at Bristol, in favour of the separatists, and in reply by Thomas Elwood; and after the matter had been referred to different meetings, and their objections been heard, they found themselves too loosely compacted to adhere long together; some, judging their separation to be causeless, reunited themselves to the body of the society, and the rest soon fell to pieces and dwindled away.†

When James II. came to the throne, the Quakers drew up a petition, as we have seen, stating their grievous sufferings by no less than ten penal laws; but it is not certain,

* Biogra. Britan. vol. 2. p. 592, 593. Gough, vol. 3. p. 15. † Ibid. p. 9—21.

whether they had an opportunity of presenting it; for their proceedings were interrupted by the landing of the duke of Monmouth, which for a time engaged all the attention of the court and the nation. But in March 1685-6 they made an application to the throne, soliciting the liberation of their imprisoned friends, and they obtained a warrant for their release, directed to sir Robert Sawyer, attorney-general. He was then at his seat in Hampshire; that this business might be expedited, therefore, George Whitehead, and John Edge, accompanied by Rowland Vaughan, waited on him there, and were received and entertained with great civility, till liberates could be made out for the prisoners in the city; after his return to London, by the exertion of the said friends, the discharge of the prisoners in different parts of the kingdom was obtained.*

The attention which the king gave their grievances, in this and other instances, encouraged them to present a complaint and petition against the informers and their iniquitous practices. This was followed by a request to the king to examine into the truth of the allegations, by giving the petitioners an opportunity to prove them to the informers' faces. The request was granted, and a commission was issued to Richard Graham and Philip Burton, esqrs. who summoned the informers, sufferers, and witnesses, to appear before them at Clifford's-Inn, the 4th of June 1686. Fifty-four cases were selected, from which to establish their charges. When all the parties came to Clifford's-Inn, the informers, seeing the numerous company that appeared against them, expresed their malice in this ribaldry; "Here come all the devils in hell," and observing George Whitehead, they cried out, "And there comes the old devil of all." The first charge, proved in thirty-four cases, was, that "they had sworn falsely in fact:" then were laid before the commissioners sundry cases, wherein the doors of houses and shops were broken open with violence, by constables and informers, to make severe and exorbitant distraints, by which household and shop goods were carried away by cart-loads. The commissioners grew weary before they had gone through one fourth of the cases, and adjourned for ten days. At the second meeting the lawyer, whom the informers had employed to plead their cause, was quickly silenced by the number

* Gough, vol. 3. p. 164—169.

of facts and the evidence produced, and before half the cases prepared for their cognizance were examined, the commissioners thought they had sufficient grounds for a report to the king. A report was accordingly drawn up, to which George Whitehead, on a sight of it, objected as very deficient and improper; being rather a proposal to limit prosecutions to the less ruinous penal laws, than a plain state of facts, and of the various perjuries, and of the illegal and injurious acts, of the informers. The reason of this was, that they had received a message from a great person or persons in the church, soliciting them to do or report nothing that might invalidate the power of the informers. But, on Whitehead's pleading for justice to be done, in regard to matters of fact, the report was amended and framed more to the purpose. The king, on receiving it, referred it to the lord-chancellor, in order to correct the irregular proceedings of some justices and the informers. He signified also his pleasure to the subordinate magistrates and justices, that they should put a stop to the depredations of these men; instead, therefore, of being encouraged, they were discountenanced. The court withdrawing its protection, other dissenters prosecuting them, and the scenes of their iniquity being laid open, some fled the country, and the rest were reduced to beggary.*

The Quakers, who had suffered more severely than any other sects, that they might not seem less sensible of the relief they had received, when addresses were presented to the king for his declaration for liberty of conscience, also waited on him with an address of thanks; first, from those of their society who resided in or about London, and then in the name and on behalf of the community at large. And while the other dissenters were censured in this business, as countenancing the king's dispensing power, the Quakers were guarded in this respect; for they expressed their hope, "that the good effects of the declaration of indulgence on the trade, peace, and prosperity, of the kingdom, would produce such a concurrence from the parliament, as would secure it to their posterity;" modestly hinting, it hath been observed, their sentiments of what they apprehended yet wanting to be done to complete the favour.†

When the bishops were committed prisoners to the

* Gough, vol. 2. p. 172-176. † Ibid. p. 189—195.

Tower, and it was understood that they reflected on the Quakers as belying them, and reporting that they had been the cause of the death of some of them, Robert Barclay paid the bishops a visit, and laid before them undeniable proofs, that some, by order of bishops, had been detained in prison until death, though they had been apprized of their danger by physicians who were not Quakers; but, he added, "that since through the change of circumstances, they themselves were now under oppression, it was by no means the intention of the people called Quakers to publish such incidents, or to give the king or their adversaries any advantage against them thereby." They were accordingly very careful to refrain from every measure, in word or deed, that might in any respect aggravate the case of the prisoners, esteeming it no time to aggravate old animosities, when the common enemy was seeking an advantage.*

When persecution subsided, and liberty of conscience was enjoyed without molestation, the Quakers thought it a convenient season to apply for relief in a point where they were still exposed to considerable trouble and detriment, and at their yearly meeting in London, in the summer of 1688, they drew up an address to the king, soliciting him to interpose for their relief from sufferings for tithes, and in the case of oaths. The address was presented and well received, but before the time for holding a parliament arrived, the king found it out of his power to redress their grievances, or support himself on the throne. The legal confirmation and enlargement of their liberty were reserved for the next reign.†

During the short reign of James II. the society of Quakers lost several respectable members; the most eminent of whom was colonel David Barclay, the father of the apologist, of an ancient and honourable family in Scotland, a man universally esteemed and beloved. He adopted the principles of the Quakers in 1666, and is said to have been brought over to them by Mr. Swinton, a man of learning, very taking in his behaviour, naturally eloquent, and in great credit among them.‡ The acquisition of so considerable and respectable a person as colonel Barclay, was of no small use

* Gough, vol. 3. p. 198, 199. † Ibid. p. 199—202.

‡ This Mr. Swinton was attainted after the restoration of Charles II. for having joined Cromwell, and was sent down into Scotland to be tried; it was universally believed, that his death was inevitable; but when he was brought before the parliament at Edinburgh, 1661, to shew cause why he should not receive sentence, having

to this persuasion. He was a man venerable in his appearance, just in all his actions, had shewed his courage in the wars in Germany, and his fortitude in bearing all the hard usage he met with in Scotland, with cheerfulness as well as patience; for he very soon found himself exposed to persecutions and sufferings on the score of his religion. He spent, however, the last twenty years of his life in the profession with great comfort to himself, being all along blessed with sound health and a vigorous constitution: and he met death, in the seventy-sixth year of his age, September 1686, at his seat at Ury in Scotland, with resignation and patience under great pain, and with the feelings of a lively hope. His last expressions were uttered in prayer: "Praises to the Lord! Let now thy servant depart in peace. Into thy hands, O Father, I commit my soul, spirit, and body. Thy will, O Lord, be done on earth, as it is in heaven." And soon after he breathed his last: and though he gave express directions, agreeably to his principles, that none but persons of his own persuasion should be invited to his funeral, yet, the time being known, many gentlemen, and those too of great distinction, attended him to the grave, out of regard to his humanity, beneficence, and public spirit, virtues which endeared him to the good men of all parties.*

On the 17th of July, 1688, died, at Warwick, in a good age, William Dewsbury, who was early distinguished among the foremost members of this society, by the depth of his religious experience, the eminence of his labours in the ministry, and the severity of his sufferings. He was first bred to the keeping of sheep, and then was put apprentice to a clothier. In early life he was religiously inclined, and associated with the Independents and Baptists. In the civil wars he entered into the parliament

become a Quaker, when he might have set up two pleas, strong in point of law, he answered, consonantly to his religious principles, "that he was, at the time his political crimes were imputed to him, in the gall of bitterness and bond of iniquity, but that, God having since called him to the light, he saw and acknowledged his past errors, and did not refuse to pay the forfeit for them, even though in their judgment this should extend to his life." His speech wes, though modest, so majestic, and though expressive of the most perfect patience, so pathetic, that, notwithstanding he had neither interest nor wealth to plead for him, yet the impression made by his discourse on that illustrious assembly was such, that they recommended him to the king as a proper object of mercy, when they were very severe against others. Biog. Brit. vol. 2. p. 590; and Burnet's History, vol. 1. p. 182.

* Gough, vol. 3. p. 181—183; and Biog. Brit. vol. 2. p. 590, 591. second edit.

army, but as he grew more seriously attentive to religious considerations, the recollection of the words of Christ, "Put up thy sword into the scabbard; if my kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight;" affected his mind with a lively conviction of the inconsistency of war with the peaceable gospel of Christ. Under this conviction he left the army, and resumed his trade. When George Fox was at Wakefield, he joined him in fellowship and in the ministry. He travelled much in different parts of England to promote righteousness, and to propagate what was, in his view, divine truth; for which, like his brethren, he met with much personal abuse, and was frequently thrown into prison at various place, at York, Northampton, Exeter, London, and Warwick. In this last place he was detained till the general release by king James. At length his health and strength were so impaired by the many violent abuses and long imprisonments he had endured, that he was obliged to rest frequently in walking from his house to the meeting-place in the same town. A distemper contracted in prison terminated his life. He was seized with a sharp fit of it, when in London to attend the yearly meeting, so that he was obliged to return home by short journeys; but survived his departure from the city only seventeen days. To some friends who came to visit him he said, just before he expired; "Friends, be faithful, and trust in the Lord your God; for this I can say, I never played the coward, but as joyfully entered prisons as palaces.—And in the prison-house I sang praises to my God, and esteemed the bolts and locks put upon me as jewels, and in the name of the eternal God I always got the victory, for they could not keep me any longer than the time determined of him." Continuing his discourse, he said; "My departure draws nigh; blessed be God I have nothing to do but to die, and put off this corruptible and mortal tabernacle, this body of flesh that hath so many infirmities; but the life that dwells in it ascends out of the reach of death, hell, and the grave; and immortality and eternal life is my crown for ever and ever." He concluded in prayer to the Lord for all his people every where, especially for the friends then assembled in London, reaping the present reward of his fidelity, patience, and sincerity, in peaceful tenor of his mind, and

looking death in the face, not only without terror, but with a holy triumph over its power.*

The history of this society has, with an impartial and commendable disregard to the distinction of sex, made honourable mention of those women to whose piety and zeal it was indebted. One of these, at this period, was Rebecca Travis, born 1609, who had received a religious education, and was a zealous professor among the Baptists. In the year 1654, prompted by curiosity, but possessed with strong prejudices against the Quakers, as a people in the north remarkable for simplicity and rusticity of behaviour, a worship strangely different from all others, and a strenuous opposition to all public teachers; she attended a public disputation between James Naylor, then in London, and the Baptists; in which it appeared to her, he had the advantage, by close and powerful replies, over his learned antagonists. This excited her desire to hear him in the exercise of his ministry; she had soon an opportunity of gratifying her wishes; and the result was, that from that time she attended the meetings of this people, and after some time laboured herself in the ministry among them, in London and its neighbourhood. The impressions made on her mind by the preaching of Naylor, and her observation of his circumspect conduct, engaged her affectionate esteem for him, and she cheerfully administered every charitable service in her power to his relief under his grievous sufferings; though she was a woman of too much discretion and stability in religion to carry her regard beyond its proper limits, or to such extravagant lengths as those weak people who contributed to his downfall. She had the character of a discreet and virtuous woman, much employed in acts of charity and beneficence; of sympathetic tenderness towards the afflicted, and therefore one of the first of those faithful women to whom the care of the poor, the sick, and the imprisoned members of the community, was assigned; this care, in conjunction with others, she religiously discharged. After a long life of virtuous and charitable deeds, she died in much peace, on the 15th July 1688, in the eightieth year of her age.†

Another of these women, who was esteemed an ornament to her profession, and who undauntedly suffered, when it fell

* Gough, vol. 3. p. 223—228. † Ibid. p. 219—223.

to her lot, was Ann Downer, first married to Benjamin Greenwell, a grocer in Bishopsgate-street, and then to the celebrated George Whitehead. She was one of the first who received the doctrine of the Quakers, when its ministers came to London, and at length became a preacher of it. In 1656, she was sent for to attend George Fox and his fellow-prisoners at Launceston, and travelled thither on foot, two hundred miles: on her journey she was instrumental to bring many over to the doctrine she published, some of whom were persons of account in the world. In 1658, she travelled in the southern counties, and the Isle of Wight. She was remarkably conspicuous in her day for her singular piety, benevolence, and charity, spending much of her time in visiting the poor, the imprisoned, the sick, the fatherless, and widows, in their affliction: and in her exertions to do good had few equals. She died on the 27th of August, 1686, aged sixty-three, expressing to her friends, who visited her, the sentiments of resignation and lively hope, and leaving impressions of affectionate regard to her memory in the hearts of many, whom she had helped by her charitable services.*

* Gough, vol. 2. p. 183—185.

REFLECTIONS

ON THE

REVOLUTION, AND ACT OF TOLERATION.

The Revolution is the grand event, in which the affecting and interesting scenes and transactions of the preceding periods, from the Reformation to the accession of William III. happily and gloriously close. Here the struggles of the several parties have their termination; and though the episcopal form of church-government obtains at last an establishment and permanent pre-eminence, yet that superiority is made easy to the other parties, by the security to their respective religious professions, and by the equality among themselves, which they enjoy by the act of toleration. Here the reader pauses with pleasure and hope; humanity rejoices, that there is a period to the animosities and calamities that had torn and afflicted this country nearly a century and a half, and the prospect of better times opens before the wearied mind. The history through which he has been led, by its various details, giveth him a strong impression of the importance and happiness of the era to which he is at length arrived. Here despotism hath drawn its last breath; here religious liberty commenceth its reign: royal prerogative bows and yields to the voice of the people; and conscience feels itself, though not entirely emancipated, yet walking at large and breathing the open air.

Our author's narrative affords convincing and satisfactory proofs of the importance and felicity of the new state of things to which it brings us. But yet some considerations, arising from facts not mentioned by him, may be properly presented to the reader, to heighten his sense of the

deliverance effected by the Revolution. Two singular doctrines had been industriously disseminated; viz. "That there was no such thing as passive obedience for the cause of religion; and that kings are so far infallible, as that what religion they establish is the true worship of God in their dominion." To insinuate more universally and effectually these sentiments, they were inserted and enlarged upon in the common almanacks.* No doubt can remain concerning the design of James II. from a review of the measures he actually executed; and yet it is useful and interesting to bring forward the secret councils from whence those measures flowed, and to exhibit the systematical plan, for which, if they were not parts of it, and first attempts at the execution of it, they were evidently calculated to prepare the way.

Sometime before the abdication of James, a "Memorial" was presented to him, drawn up by a Jesuit, and exhibiting the methods he should pursue, not only to root out the Protestant religion, but to prevent even the possibility of its revival. The great outlines of the scheme were, "that a council of reformation should be established, which avoiding the name, as odious and offensive at the beginning, should pursue some good and sound manner of inquisition; nay, should order, in divers points, according to the diligent and exact proceedings of the court of inquisition in Spain:—that the authority of the church should take place of the king's authority, and the civil powers be subjected to the ecclesiastical:—that the state of the Catholic religion, and the succession of the crown, should be so linked together, that one might depend on and be the assurance of the other:—that new ways of choosing parliaments should be followed, particularly one very extraordinary, viz. that the bishop of the diocess should judge concerning the knights of the shire, and as they were thought fit to serve in parliament by such bishops or not, so they were to confirm the election or have a negative voice in it. The Catholic prince, whom God should send, is represented as being well able to procure such a parliament as he would have. Many new laws were to be made, that should quite alter the whole constitution; but it was to be made treason for ever,

* Crosby's History of the Baptists, vol. 3. p. 88.

for any man to propose any thing for change of the Catholic Roman faith, when it was once settled. As to those in low circumstances, effectual care was to be taken to keep them *low*. New methods were to be observed for letting of lands, disposing of children, and ordering of servants." The "Memorial" complains, "that in queen Mary's time, when so many were imprisoned, so many stripped of their estates, and so many burnt, there was a want of zeal, to the grief and discouragement of many; that some things were then tolerated upon constraint, and fear of farther inconveniences; and it is added, that matters are not to be patched up any more by such gentle and backward proceedings. For it is laid down as a first principle, that as soon as a good Catholic prince should be established upon the throne of these nations, he must make account, that the security of himself, his crown, and successor, dependeth principally on the assurance and good establishment of the Catholic religion within his kingdom. The proposals in this piece were brought forward, not merely as measures which the writer desired to see executed; but such as he apprehended, nay, was confident, the temper and circumstances of the nation would soon afford an opportunity to accomplish. Several things are reckoned up, which gave great force to the Roman Catholics in England. It is said, that England would more easily receive Popery than any other Protestant country; nay, that difficulties which arose in some Catholic countries would not be found here. All now (says the author) is zeal and integrity in our new clergy, (Almighty God be thanked for it!) and no less in our laity, and Catholic gentlemen in England, that have borne the brunt of persecution."

These specimens of the designs formed, are proofs to what extent the scheme of combining the re-establishment of Popery with arbitrary power was to be carried; and shew what vast consequences were involved in the success of the spirited opposition that led James to abdicate the throne.

Important, valuable, and happy, as was the state of things introduced by this event, especially as it affected religious liberty, the operation of it was partial and limited: when even a bill of rights, after the settlement of king William on the throne, defined our constitution, and fixed the pri-

vileges of the subject, the rights of conscience were not ascertained, nor declared by that noble deed. The act of toleration, moved by lord Nottingham in the house of peers, and seconded by some bishops, though more out of fear than inclination,* exempted from the penal statutes then in existence Protestant dissentients only, and not all of them, for the Socinians are expressly excepted, nor did secure any from the influence of the corporation and test acts. It left the English Catholics under severe disabilities; it left many penal statutes unrepealed. The same reign which gave us the blessing of the toleration act, was marked by an act of another complexion; for the prince, to whom we owe the former, was prevailed on to pass another statute, adjudging heavy penalties, fines, and imprisonments, to those who should write or speak against the doctrine of the Trinity. There are claims of power over conscience not yet abolished: there are rights of conscience not yet fully recovered and secured. The very term toleration shews that religious freedom is not yet enjoyed in perfection; it indicates, that the liberty which we possess is a matter of sufferance, lenity, and indulgence, rather than the grant of justice and right. It seemeth to admit and imply a power to restrain conscience and to dictate to faith, but the exercise of which is generously waived. The time is, even now, at this distance from the Revolution, yet to come, when the enjoyment of religious liberty shall no longer be considered as a favour; the time is yet to come, when Christians, of religious forms and creeds, shall be on the equal footing of brethren, and of children in the house of the same heavenly Parent; the time is yet to come, when acts of toleration shall every where give place to bills of right.

But, though much is yet wanting to complete and perfect the blessings of the Revolution; yet we cannot but review the act of toleration as a great point gained, as a noble effort towards the full emancipation of conscience. The preceding periods had been only those of oppression and thraldom. The exertions of any to procure release from severe laws, were rather attempts to gain the power of tyrannizing over conscience into their own hands, that they themselves might be free, and all other parties remain

* Sir John Reresby's Memoirs, p. 323.

slaves, than liberal endeavours to ascertain and secure to every one security and peace, in following the judgment of his own mind. The preceding ages exhibit a series of severe statutes following each other; from passing the act for burning of heretics in the reign of Henry IV. to the enacting of that of uniformity, and of the Oxford conventicle acts, in the reign of Charles II. At the commencement of the Reformation, we have seen, that on the one hand they who could not admit, from religious reverence to the pope's authority, the supremacy of the king, and on the other, they who discarded any of the six articles which he formed into a standard of faith, were alike doomed to the sentence of death. In the reign of Edward VI. the pious and amiable Hooper, for refusing to wear a particular dress, was imprisoned; and Joan Bocher, who religiously read and dispersed the New Testament, was burnt at the stake. Intolerant statutes marked the government of queen Elizabeth. Persecution, in various forms, by laws and by prerogative, stigmatized the successive reigns of the Stuarts. In the interval, during the suspension of their power, a severe ordinance against heresy was passed: the livings of the episcopal clergy were sequestered; those ministers suffered under severe oppressions, and Presbyterianism was found to be not more friendly to the rights of conscience, or averse from intolerance, than had been the fallen hierarchy. Amongst two despised sects, hated and persecuted by all parties, the Baptists and Quakers, amongst almost them only, the principles of liberty had found able and generous advocates; their writings placed the rights of conscience on a broad and liberal bottom. But they could support them by the pen only; they were never in power, and consequently had never, in this country,* an opportunity to carry their principles into practice, and to shew that they could rule according to the maxims for which, when oppressed, they could forcibly plead.

This having been the state of things, the act of toleration, the consequence of the Revolution, was a great acqui-

* It is said in *this* country; for when the forming the government of Pennsylvania and Rhode-island in America rested, the latter with the Baptists, and the former with the Quakers, to their honour it should be said, their conduct was consistent with the arguments they had advanced, and liberty of conscience, on an extensive and liberal scale, was a leading feature of each constitution.

sition. It was the first legal sanction given to the claims of conscience; it was the first charter of religious freedom; it was a valuable, important, and permanent security to the dissenting subject. It opened to him the temple of peace, and afforded the long wished-for asylum. To adopt the language of high authority: "The toleration-act rendered that which was illegal before, now legal; the dissenting way of worship is permitted and allowed by that act; it is not only exempted from punishment, but rendered innocent and lawful; it is established; it is put under the protection, and is not merely the connivance of the law."* It hath been followed with a universal good effect and happy influence; it hath been the basis of the religious liberty enjoyed ever since that period; and with respect to the state of freedom and religious inquiry in these kingdoms, it was, as it were, a new creation. Before that period darkness, in a manner, hung over the spacious field of knowledge and divine truth, and the path to it was guarded by a flaming sword. That act said, "Let there be light, and light there was." "The bounds of free inquiry were enlarged; the volume, in which are the words of eternal life, was laid open to examination." And the state of knowledge and liberty has been, ever since, progressive and improving.

To this general view of the effects of the Revolution, it is proper to add; "that it drew considerable consequences after it all over Europe. It kept the reformed interest from sinking, secured the liberty of the British and the Netherlands, and disappointed the French of that universal monarchy, which they had been eagerly expecting, and had great hopes of reaching. And among other happy fruits of it, it was not the least considerable, that it was the means of saving the poor Vandois of Piedmont from utter ruin, and of their re-establishment in their own country. These people were the remains of the primitive Christians, who were never tainted with the Papal corruptions and impurities. In the year 1686, the duke of Savoy, at the instigation of Lewis XIV. because they would not forsake their religion, drove them from their houses and possessions, forced them out of the valleys, and obliged them to take shelter among the Switzers and others that would afford them an asylum.

* Lord Mansfield.

But, in September 1689, eight or nine hundred of them assembled together in the woods of Nion, not far from Geneva, crossed the lake Leman in the night, and entered Savoy under the conduct of their minister M. Arnold. They marched through that country, fourteen or fifteen days' journey, in which march they were obliged to climb up high mountains, force divers strait passes, well guarded by soldiers, with swords in their hands, till at length they reached their valleys, of which they took possession, and in which, under the singular protection of Providence, they maintained themselves, successfully encountering their enemies who at any time assaulted them."*

Here seems to be a proper place, before the history of this period is closed, to notice a noble and generous exertion of a few dissenters, which has with great good effect been resumed and perpetuated to the present times. It was the founding a school in Gravel-lane, Southwark, for the instruction of children in reading, writing, and arithmetic, and the girls in sewing and knitting, and furnishing them with books for their instruction in these arts, and with Testaments, catechisms, and Bibles. One Poulton had opened a school in these parts, and given public notice that he would teach the children of the poor gratis. To counteract his designs, and to afford the poor an easy opportunity of having their children educated in Protestant principles, three worthy gentlemen, Mr. Arthur Shallet, Mr. Samuel Warburton, and Mr. Ferdinando Holland, members of Mr. Nathaniel Vincent's church, instituted this seminary, which has continued ever since, maintained by voluntary subscrip-

* Calamy's History of his Own Times, MS. Dr. Calamy was told several remarkable particulars concerning this march by Mr. Arnold, who came afterward to England to solicit the assistance of king William. One was, that when they were come pretty near to their valleys, they were in such straits for provisions, that they were in great fear of starving. But there came a sudden thaw, which in a night's time melted the snow, and in the morning they discovered a considerable quantity of wheat standing in the earth, ready for the sickle, which had been left there from the preceding summer, and had been covered all winter by the snow; the sudden fall prevented the proprietors from reaping it at the proper season. These destitute people beheld it with admiration and thankfulness, reaped it with joy, and were supported by it after their return into their valleys, where, without such a supply, they might have perished. Another resource, especially for their ministers and schoolmasters, was derived from the overplus of the collections made for them in England, during the protectorship of Cromwell, which had been lodged by them, when their wants had been effectually relieved, in the hands of the magistrates of Geneva, on condition of receiving such an allowance from year to year as was agreed on. Calamy, *ut supra*.

tions, annual collections, and legacies. The number of scholars at first was forty; afterward it increased to fifty; then to one hundred and forty; and has since been two hundred. It was the first institution of the kind wherein the Protestant dissenters were concerned; and into it objects are received without distinction of party. Such an institution has the merit of being a rational, fair, and benevolent mode of opposing superstition and bigotry, abridging no one's security and rights, and leaving the event to the operation of knowledge and understanding; and it reflects honour on the spirit and resolution of its first founders, who set it on foot in the reign of the tyrannical and bigoted prince, James II. when the dissenters had scarcely emerged out of a state of persecution.

It will not, it is presumed, be thought beneath the importance and dignity of general history, to mention here two small publications which the press produced at this period; especially as the history, through which the reader has been led, records the virtuous and manly struggles made to secure the liberty of writing and publishing on the subject of religion, according to the views any might entertain, and exhibits memoirs of the progress of theological inquiries. The importance of publications is also to be estimated, not by the number of pages, but by the nature of the subject, the ability with which they are executed, and the effect they produced, or the impression they were calculated to leave on the public mind.

One of the pieces, both anonymous, to which we refer, was entitled, "A brief History of the Unitarians, called also Socinians: in four Letters to a Friend." The publisher, to whom they were written, having left them some time with a gentleman, a person of excellent learning and worth, they were returned to him with a letter, expressing great approbation of them, which was printed with each edition. The first of these letters represented the Unitarian doctrine concerning the unity of God, the humanity of Christ and the Holy Spirit, as the power and inspiration of God; aimed to confirm and prove it by a series of scriptural arguments, and closed with a concise history of it. The design of the three following letters, was to reply to the arguments of the orthodox; and, that the answer might be full and

satisfactory, they were occupied in the illustration of all the texts usually alleged as proofs of the Trinitarian doctrine. The passages out of the Old Testament are first explained, then those out of the Gospels and Acts, and lastly those out of the Epistles and the Revelations. This mode of discussing a question, which depends purely on divine revelation, will be admitted to be proper and fair. It shewed that the author was not afraid to lodge his appeal with the Scriptures, and it was adapted to lead the reader into an investigation of their meaning according to the rules of sober criticism and just explanation. It went particularly, to obviate a reflection cast upon the Unitarians, as exalting their reasonings above the plain and express revelation of the Scriptures. The first edition of this tract was in 12mo, in 1687. It was afterward reprinted in a collection of Unitarian Tracts, in quarto, 1691.

The other tract published at this period, which I have mentioned as worthy of particular notice, was entitled, "A Rational Catechism." It was distinguished, not only by the good sense, and the vein of close but familiar reasoning which ran through it, but by the peculiar method in which it was drawn up. Catechisms, in general, have consisted principally, if not solely, of speculative points, drawn from the theological systems of the day, and of the country where they are published. These are conveyed in an authoritative manner, as absolutely necessary to salvation; and are to be committed to memory, without any attempt to prove them by reasoning level to the capacity of the learner. The author of this tract, conceiving that neglecting to examine into the bottom of things, was the cause of that variety of opinions from whence arose rash judgments, animosities, hatreds, and persecution, began his piece with the first principles discernible in human nature; and, avoiding all sentiments controverted amongst Christians, confined himself to those truths only as all agree in, and which lead directly unto practice, professing not to advance every thing that he might think useful, but only what he judged most useful. The dialogue, into which form the work is thrown, divides itself into three parts; the principles of natural religion; those of Christianity, or the great advantages derived from the gospel; and the rules of conduct which

it supplies. The instructions and conclusions which the catechumen is led, in a great degree, to draw for himself, and by his own reflections, arise in a chain of reasoning from this principle, "that every man seeks happiness;" which happiness must be, principally, mental and spiritual. The means of attaining to it in the knowledge of God and the practice of his will are hence gradually developed. This piece is ascribed to Mr. Popple. It was first printed by licence, in 1688; another edition of it appeared 1690, 12mo. And it was reprinted at Amsterdam in 1712.*

* Preface to the work. Hollis's Memoirs, p. 263; and a Critical Review of it in the Bibliotheque Universelle et Historique, tom. 9. p. 95, &c.

END OF THE SUPPLEMENT.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

A declaration of certain principal articles of religion, set out by order of both archbishops, metropolitans, and the rest of the bishops, for the unity of doctrine to be taught and holden of all parsons, vicars, and curates: as well in testification of their common consent in the said doctrine, to the stopping of the mouths of them that go about to slander the ministers of the church for diversity of judgment, and as necessary for the instruction of their people, to be read by the said parsons, vicars, and curates, at their possession taking, or first entry into their cures; and also, after that yearly, at two several times; that is to say, the Sunday next following Easter-day, and St. Michael the Archangel, or on some other Sunday within one month after those feasts, immediately after the Gospel.

FORASMUCH as it appertaineth to all Christian men, but especially to the ministers and pastors of the church, being teachers and instructors of others, to be ready to give a reason of their faith when they shall be thereunto required; I, for my part, now appointed your parson, vicar, or curate, having before mine eyes the fear of God, and the testimony of my conscience, do acknowledge for myself, and require you to assent to the same;

1. "That there is but one living and true God, of infinite power, wisdom, and goodness; the maker and preserver of all things; and that in unity of this Godhead, there be three persons of one substance, of equal power and eternity, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.

2. "I believe also whatsoever is contained in the holy canonical Scriptures, in the which Scriptures are contained all things necessary to salvation; by the which, also, all errors and heresies may sufficiently be reproved and convicted; and all doctrines and articles necessary to salvation are es-

tablished. I do also most firmly believe and confess all the articles contained in the three creeds; the Nicene creed, Athanasius's creed, and our common creed, called the Apostles' creed; for these do briefly contain the principal articles of our faith, which are at large set forth in the Holy Scriptures.

3. "I do acknowledge also that church to be the spouse of Christ, wherein the word of God is truly taught, the sacraments orderly ministered according to Christ's institution, and the authority of the keys duly used: and that every such particular church hath authority to institute, to change, and clean to put away, ceremonies, and other ecclesiastical rites, as they be superfluous or abused; and to constitute others, making more to seemliness, to order, or edification.

4. "Moreover I confess, that it is not lawful for any man to take upon him any office or ministry, either ecclesiastical or secular, but such only as are lawfully thereunto called by the high authorities, according to the ordinances of the realm.

5. "Furthermore, I do acknowledge the queen's majesty's prerogative, and superiority of government of all estates, and in all causes, as well ecclesiastical as temporal, within this realm and other her dominions and countries, to be agreeable to God's word, and of right to appertain to her highness, in such sort as in the late act of parliament expressed, and since then by her majesty's injunctions declared and expounded.

6. "Moreover, touching the bishop of Rome, I do acknowledge and confess, that by the Scriptures and word of God, he hath no more authority than other bishops have in their provinces and diocesses, and therefore the power which he now challengeth, that is, to be the supreme head of the universal church of Christ, and so to be above all emperors, kings, and princes, is a usurped power, contrary to the Scriptures and word of God, and contrary to the example of the primitive church; and therefore is for most just causes taken away and abolished in this realm.

7. "Furthermore, I do grant and confess that the book of common prayer and administration of the holy sacraments, set forth by the authority of parliament, is agreeable to the Scriptures; and that it is catholic and apostolic, and most

for the advancing of God's glory, and the edifying of God's people; both for that it is in a tongue that may be understood of the people, and also for the doctrine and form of administration contained in the same.

8. "And although in the administration of baptism there is neither exorcism, oil, salt, spittle, or hallowing of the water, now used; and for that they were of late years abused and esteemed necessary, whereas they pertain not to the substance and necessity of the sacrament, and therefore be reasonably abolished; yet is the sacrament full and perfectly ministered, to all intents and purposes, agreeable to the institution of our Saviour Christ.

9. "Moreover, I do not only acknowledge, that private masses were never used amongst the fathers of the primitive church, I mean, public ministration and receiving of the sacrament by the priest alone, without a just number of communicants, according to Christ's saying, 'Take ye, and eat ye,' &c. but also that the doctrine that maintaineth the mass to be a propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and the dead, and a mean to deliver souls out of purgatory, is neither agreeable to Christ's ordinance, nor grounded upon doctrine apostolic, but contrariwise most ungodly, and most injurious to the precious redemption of our Saviour Christ, and his only sufficient sacrifice, offered once for ever upon the altar of the cross.

10. "I am of that mind also, that the holy communion or sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, for the due obedience to Christ's institution, and to express the virtue of the same, ought to be ministered unto the people under both kinds: and that it is avouched by certain fathers of the church to be a plain sacrilege, to rob them of the mystical cup, for whom Christ has shed his most precious blood, seeing he himself hath said, 'Drink ye all of this;' considering also, that in the time of the ancient doctors of the church, as Cyprian, Jerome, Augustine, Gelasius, and others, six hundred years after Christ, and more, both the parts of the sacrament were ministered to the people.

Last of all, "As I do utterly disallow the extolling of images, relics, and feigned miracles; and also all kind of expressing God invisible, in the form of an old man, or the Holy Ghost in the form of a dove; and all other vain worshipping of God, devised by men's fantasy, besides or con-

trary to the Scriptures; as wandering on pilgrimages, setting up of candles, praying upon beads, and such-like superstition; which kind of works have no promise of reward in Scripture; but contrariwise threatenings and maledictions: so I do exhort all men to the obedience of God's law, and to the works of faith, as charity, mercy, piety, alms, devout and fervent prayer, with the affection of the heart, and not with the mouth only; godly abstinence and fasting, chastity, obedience to the rulers and superior powers, with such-like works, and godliness of life commanded by God in his word; which, as St. Paul saith, 'hath the promise both of this life, and of the life to come;' and are works acceptable only in God's sight.

"These things above rehearsed, though they be appointed by common order, yet do I, without all compulsion, with freedom of mind and conscience, from the bottom of my heart, and upon most sure persuasion, acknowledge to to be true, and agreeable to God's word. And therefore I exhort you all to whom I have care, heartily and obediently to embrace and receive the same; that we all joining together in unity of spirit, faith, and charity, may also at length be joined together in the kingdom of God, and that through the merits and death of our Saviour Jesus Christ; to whom, with the Father and the Holy Ghost, be all glory and empire, now and for ever. Amen."

No. II.

A copy of the letter sent to the bishops and pastors of England, who have renounced the Roman antichrist, and profess the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity.

The superintendent ministers, and commissioners of charges within the realm of Scotland, to their brethren the bishops and pastors of England, who have renounced the Roman antichrist, and do profess with them the Lord Jesus in sincerity, desire the perpetual increase of the Holy Spirit.

By word and writ, it is come to our knowledge, reverend pastors, that divers of our dearest brethren, among whom

are some of the best learned within that realm, are deprived from ecclesiastical function, and forbidden to preach, and so by you, that they are straight to promote the kingdom of Jesus Christ, because their consciences will not suffer to take upon them (at the commandment of authority) such garments as idolaters, in time of blindness, have used in their idolatry, which bruit cannot be but most dolorous to our hearts, mindful of that sentence of the Apostle, saying, "If ye bite and devour one another, take heed, lest ye be consumed one of another." We purpose not at this present to enter into the ground of that question which we hear of, either part to be agitate with greater vehemency than well liketh us; to wit, whether that such apparel is to be accounted amongst things that are simply indifferent or not; but in the bowels of the Lord Jesus we crave that Christian charity may so prevail in you, we say, the pastors and leaders of the flock within that realm,

That ye do not to others that which ye would not others should do to you. Ye cannot be ignorant how tender a thing the conscience of man is. All that have knowledge are not alike persuaded; your consciences reclaim not at wearing of such garments, but many thousands, both godly and learned, are otherwise persuaded, whose consciences are continually stricken with these sentences: "What hath Christ Jesus to do with Belial?" "What fellowship is there betwixt darkness and light?" If surplice, corner cap, and tippet, have been badges of idolaters in the very act of their idolatry, what have the preachers of Christian liberty, and the open rebukers of all superstition, to do with the dregs of the Romish beast? Our brethren, that of conscience refuse that unprofitable apparel, do neither damn yours, or molest you that use such vain trifles: if ye shall do the like to them, we doubt not but therein ye shall please God, and comfort the hearts of many which are wounded with extremity, which is used against those godly, and our beloved brethren. Colour of rhetoric, or manly persuasion, will we use none, but charitably we desire you to call that sentence of pity to mind:—"Feed the flock of God which is committed to your charge, caring for them, not by constraint, but willingly; not as though ye were lords over God's heritage, but that ye may be examples to the flock." And farther also, we desire you to meditate that sentence of the

apostle, saying, "Give none offence, neither to the Jews nor to the Grecians, nor to the church of God." In what condition of time ye and we both travel in the promoting of Christ's kingdom, we suppose you not to be ignorant. And therefore we are more bold to exhort you to walk more circumspectly, than that for such vanities the godly should be troubled. For all things that may seem lawful, edify not. If the commandment of authority urge the conscience of yours and our brethren, more than they can bear; we unfeignedly crave of you, that ye remember, that ye are called the light of the world and the earth.

All civil authority hath not the light of God always shining before their eyes in their statutes and commandments; but their affections oft-time savour too much of the earth, and of worldly wisdom.

And therefore we think that ye should boldly oppone yourselves to all power, that will or dare extol itself, not only against God, but also against all such as do burden the consciences of the faithful, farther than God hath burdened them by his own word. But herein we confess our offence, in that we have entered farther in reasoning than we purposed and promised at the beginning: and therefore we shortly return to our former humble supplication, which is, that our brethren, who among you refuse the Romish rags, may find of you, the prelates, such favours as our Head and Master commands every one of his members to shew one to another, which we look to receive of your gentleness, not only for that ye fear to offend God's majesty, in troubling of your brethren for such vain trifles; but also because ye will not refuse the humble requests of us your brethren, and fellow-preachers of Christ Jesus, in whom, albeit there appear no great worldly pomp, yet we suppose ye will not so far despise us, but that ye will esteem us to be of the number of those that fight against that Roman antichrist, and travel, that the kingdom of Christ Jesus universally may be maintained and advanced. The days are evil; iniquity abounds; Christian charity, alas! is waxen cold; and therefore we ought the more diligently to watch; for the hour is uncertain when the Lord Jesus shall appear, before whom we your brethren, and ye, may give an account of our administration.

And thus, in conclusion, we once again crave favour to our brethren, which granted, ye in the Lord shall command

us in things of double more importance. The Lord Jesus rule your hearts in his true fear to the end, and give unto us victory over that conjured enemy of all true religion; to wit, over that Roman antichrist, whose wounded head Satan, by all means, labours to cure again, but to destruction shall he and his maintainers go, by the power of the Lord Jesus: to whose mighty power and protection we heartily commit you.

Subscribed by the hands of superintendents, one part of ministers, and scribed in our general assemblies, and fourth session thereof. At Edinburgh, the 28th day of December, 1566.

Your loving brethren, and fellow-preachers, in Christ Jesus.

Jo. Craig,	Rob. Pont,
Da. Lyndesay,	Jo. Wiram,
Guil. Gislisomus,	Jaco. Mailvil,
Jo. Spottiswood,	Jo. Erskin,
Jo. Row,	Nic. Spital.

No. III.

John Fox's letter to queen Elizabeth, to dissuade her from burning two Dutch Anabaptists for heresy in Smithfield. 1575.

SERENISSIMA beatissima princeps, regina illustrissima, patriæ decus, sæculi ornamentum! Ut nihil ab animo meo omnique expectatione abfuit longius quam ut majestatis tuæ amplissimam excellentiam molesta interpellatione obturbarem; ita vehementer dolet silentium hoc, quo hactenus constanter sum usus, non eadem constantia perpetuo tueri ita ut volebam licuisse. Ita nunc præter spem ac opinionem meam nescio qua infelicitate evenit, ut quod omnium volebam minime, id contra me maxime faciat hoc tempore. Qui cum ita vixerim hucusque, ut molestus fuerim nemini, invitus nunc cogor contra naturam principi etiam ipsi esse importunus, non re ulla aut causa mea, sed aliena inductus calamitate. Quæ quo acerbior sit et luc-

tuosior, hoc acriores mihi addit ad deprecandum stimulos. Nonnullos intelligo in Anglia hîc esse non Anglos, sed adventitios, Belgas quidem opinor, partim viros, partim feminas, nuper ob improbata dogmata in judicium advocatos. Quorum aliquot feliciter reducti publica luerunt pœnitentia; complures in exilium sunt condemnati, idque rectissime meo judicio factum esse arbitror. Jam ex hoc numero unum esse aut alterum audio, de quibus ultimum exustionis supplicium (nisi succurrat tua pietas) brevi est statuendum. Qua una in re duo contineri perspicio, quorum alterum ad errorum pravitatem, alterum ad supplicii acerbitatem attinet. Ac erroribus quidem ipsis nihil possit absurdius esse, sanus nemo est qui dubitat, mirorque tam fœda opinionum portenta in quosquam potuisse Christianos cadere. Sed ita habet humanæ infirmitatis conditio, si divina paululum luce destituti nobis relinquimur, quo non ruimus præcipites? Atque hoc nomine Christo gratias quam maximas habeo, quòd Anglorum hodie neminem huic insaniæ video. Quod igitur ad phanaticas istas sectas attinet, eas certe in republica nullo modo fovendas esse, sed idonea comprimendas correctione censeo. Verum enim vero ignibus ac flammis pice ac sulphure æstuantibus viva miserorum corpora torrefacere, judicii magis cœcitate quam impetu voluntatis errantium, durum istud ac Romani magis exempli esse quam evangelicæ consuetudinis videtur, ac plane ejusmodi, ut nisi a Romanis pontificibus, authore Innocentio tertio, primum profluxisset, nunquam istum Perilli taurum quisquam in mitem Christi ecclesiam importavisset. Non quod maleficiis delecter, aut erroribus cujusquam faveam, dicta hæc esse velim; vitæ hominum, ipse homo cum sim, faveo; ideoque faveo, non ut erret, sed ut resipiscat: ac neque hominum solum, utinam et pecudibus ipsis opitulari possem. Ita enim sum (stulte fortassis hæc de meipso, at vere dico), macellum ipsum, ubi mactantur etiam pecudes, vix prætereo, quin tacito quodam doloris sensu mens refugiat. Atque equidem in eo Dei ipsius valde admiror, venerorque toto pectore clementiam, qui in jumentis illis brutis et abjectis, quæ sacrificiis olim parabantur, id prospexerat, ne prius ignibus mandarentur quam sanguis eorum ad basim altaris effunderetur. Unde disceremus, in exigendis suppliciis, quamvis justis, non quid omnino rigori liceat, sed ut clementia simul adhibita rigoris temperet asperitatem.

Quamobrem si tantum mihi apud principis tanti majestatem audere liceret supplex pro Christo rogarem clementissimam hanc regiæ sublimitatis excellentiam, præ authoritate hac *mea* (*lege* tua) qua ad vitam multorum *consecrandum pellere* (*l.* conservandam pollere) te divina voluit clementia, ut vita si fieri possit, (quid enim non posset iis in rebus authoritas tua?) miserorum parcatur, saltem ut horrori obsistatur, atque in aliud quodcunque commutetur supplicii genus. Sunt ejectiones, inclusiones retrusæ, sunt vincula, sunt perpetua exilia, sunt stigmata et πλήγματα aut etiam patibula; id unum valde deprecor, ne piras ac flammas Smithfieldianas jam diu faustissimis tuis auspiciis huc usque sopitas, sinas nunc recandescere. Quod si ne id quidem obtineri possit, id saltem omnibus supplicandi modis efflagito, τοῦτο τὸ πελαργικὸν pectoris tui implorans, ut mensem tamen unum aut alterum nobis concedas, quo interim experiamur, an a periculosis erroribus dederit dominus ut resanescant, ne cum corporum jactura, animæ pariter cum corporibus de æterno periclitentur exitio.*

No. IV.

A directory of church-government, anciently contended for, and, as far as the times would suffer, practised by the first Nonconformists in the days of queen Elizabeth, found in the study of the most accomplished divine Mr. Thomas Cartwright, after his decease.

The sacred Discipline of the Church described in the Word of God.

The discipline of Christ's church, that is necessary for all times, is delivered by Christ, and set down in the Holy Scriptures; therefore the true and lawful discipline is to be fetched from thence, and from thence alone. And that which resteth upon any other foundation ought to be esteemed unlawful and counterfeit.

Of all particular churches, there is one and the same right, order, and form: therefore also no one may challenge

* Fuller's Church History of Britain, p. 104, 105.

to itself any power over others: nor any right which doth not alike agree to others.

The ministers of public charges, in every particular church, ought to be called and appointed to their charges by a lawful ecclesiastical calling, such as hereafter is set down.

All these, for the divers regard of their several kinds, are of equal power amongst themselves.

No man can be lawfully called to public charge in any church, but he that is fit to discharge the same. And none is to be accounted fit, but he that is endued with the common gifts of all the godly; that is, with faith, and a blameless life: and farther also, with those that are proper to that ministry wherein he is to be used, and necessary for the executing of the same; whereupon, for trial of those gifts, some convenient way and examination are to be used.

The party to be called must first be elected; then he is to be ordained to that charge whereunto he is chosen, by the prayers of that church whereunto he is to be admitted; the mutual duties of him and of the church being before laid open.

The ministers of the church are, first, they that are ministers of the word. In their examination, it is specially to be taken heed unto, that they be apt to teach, and tried men, not utterly unlearned, nor newly planted and converted to the faith.

Now these ministers of the word are, first, pastors, which do administer the word and sacraments; then teachers, which are occupied in wholesome doctrine.

Besides, there are also elders, which watch over the life and behaviour of every man; and deacons, which have care over the poor.

Farther, in every particular church there ought to be a presbytery, which is a consistory, and, as it were, a senate of elders. Under the name of elders here are contained, they who in the church minister doctrine, and they who are properly called elders.

By the common counsel of the eldership, all things are directed that belong to the state of their church. First, such as belong to the guidance of the whole body of it in the holy and common assembly, gathered together in the name of the Lord, that all things may be done in them duly,

orderly, and to edification. 2. Then also such as pertain to particular persons. First, to all the members of that church, that the good may enjoy all the privileges that belong unto them; that the wicked may be corrected with ecclesiastical censures, according to the quality of the fault, private and public, by admonishing and by removing either from the Lord's supper by suspension (as it is commonly called), or out of the church by excommunication. The which belong specially to the ministers of public charge in the church to their calling, either to be begun or ended, and ended either by relieving or punishing them, and that for a time by suspension, or altogether by deposition.

For directing of the eldership, let the pastors be set over it; or if there be more pastors than one in the same church, let the pastors do it in their turns.

But yet in all the greater affairs of the church, as in excommunicating of any, and in choosing and deposing of church-ministers, nothing may be concluded without the knowledge and consent of the church.

Particular churches ought to yield mutual help one to another; for which cause they are to communicate amongst themselves.

The end of this communicating together is, that all things in them may be so directed, both in regard of doctrine, and also of discipline, as by the word of God they ought to be.

Therefore the things that belong hereunto are determined by the common opinion of those who meet so to communicate together; and whatsoever is to be amended, furthered, or procured, in any of those several churches that belong to that assembly. Wherein albeit no particular church hath power over another, yet every particular church of the same resort, meeting and counsel, ought to obey the opinion of more churches with whom they communicate.

For holding of these meetings and assemblies, there are to be chosen, by every church belonging to that assembly, principal men from among the elders, who are to have their instructions from them, and so to be sent to the assembly. There must also be a care had, that the things they shall return to have been godly agreed on by the meetings, be diligently observed by the churches.

Farther, in such assemblies there is also to be chosen

one that may be set over the assemblies, who may moderate and direct them. His duty is to see that the assemblies be held godly, quietly, and comely: therefore it belongeth unto him to begin and end the conference with prayer; to know every man's instructions; to propound in order the things that are to be handled; to gather their opinions, and to propound what is the opinion of the greater part. It is also the part of the rest of the assembly, to speak their opinions of the things propounded godly and quietly.

The synodical discipline gathered out of the synods and use of the churches which have restored it according to the word of God, and out of sundry books that are written of the same, and referred unto certain heads.

Of the Necessity of a Calling.

Let no man thrust himself into the executing of any part of public charge in the administration of the word, sacraments, discipline, or care over the poor. Neither let any such sue or seek for any public charge of the church: but let every one tarry until he be lawfully called.

The Manner of entering and determining of a Calling, and against a Ministry of no certain Place; and the Desertion of a Church.

Let none be called but unto some certain charge ordained of God, and to the exercising of the same in some particular congregation: and he that is so called, let him be so bound to that —— church, that he may not after be of any other, or depart from it without the consent thereof. Let none be called, but they that have first subscribed the confession of doctrine and of discipline: whereof let them be admonished to have copies with themselves.

In the examination of ministers, the testimony of the place from whence they come is to be demanded, whereby it may be understood what life and conversation he hath been of, and whether he hath been addicted to any heresy, or to the reading of any heretical books, or to curious and strange questions, and idle speculations: or rather, whether he be accounted sound and consenting in all things to the doctrine received in the church. Whereunto if he agree, he is also to expound some part of the Holy Scriptures twice or oftener,

as it shall seem meet to the examiners, and that before the conference, and that church which is interested. Let him also be demanded of the principal heads of divinity: and whether he will diligently execute and discharge his ministry; and in the execution thereof propound unto himself, not his own desires and commodities, but the glory of God and edification of the church. Lastly, whether he will be studious and careful to maintain and preserve wholesome doctrine, and ecclesiastical discipline. Thus let the minister be examined, not only by one eldership, but also by some greater meeting and assembly.

Of Election.

Before the election of a minister, and the deliberation of the conferenoe concerning the same, let there be a day of fast kept in the church interested.

Of the Place of exercising this Calling.

Albeit it be lawful for a minister, upon just occasion, to preach in another church than that whereof he is minister; yet none may exercise any ordinary ministry elsewhere, but for a certain time, upon great occasion, and by the consent of his church and conference.

Of the Office of the Ministers of the Word; and first of the Order of Liturgy or Common Prayer.

Let the minister that is to preach, name a psalm, or a part of a psalm, beginning with the first, and so proceeding, that may be sung by the church, noting to them the end of their singing, to wit, the glory of God and their own edification. After the psalm, let a short admonition to the people follow, of preparing themselves to pray duly unto God: then let there be made a prayer containing a general confession; first of the guilt of sin, both original and actual; and of the punishment which is due by the law for them both: then also of the promise of the gospel, and in respect of it, supplication of pardon for the said guilt and punishment, and petition of grace promised, as for the duties of the whole life, so especially for the godly expounding and receiving of the word. Let this petition be concluded with the Lord's prayer. After the sermon, let prayer be made again; first for grace to profit by the doctrine delivered, the principal heads thereof

being remembered; then for all men, but chiefly for the universal church, and for all estates and degrees of the people; which is likewise to be ended with the Lord's prayer and the singing of a psalm, as before. Last of all, let the congregation be dismissed with some convenient form of blessing taken out of the Scripture; such as is Numb. vi. 24. 2 Cor. xiii. 14.

Of Preaching.

Let him that shall preach choose some part of the canonical Scripture to expound, and not of the Apocrypha. Farther, in his ordinary ministry, let him not take postils, as they are called, but some whole book of the Holy Scripture, especially of the New Testament, to expound in order: in choice whereof regard is to be had both of the minister's ability, and of the edification of the church.

He that preacheth must perform two things; the first, that his speech be uncorrupt; which is to be considered both in regard of the doctrine, that it be holy, sound, wholesome and profitable to edification; not devilish, heretical, leavened, corrupt, fabulous, curious, or contentious; and also in respect of the manner of it, that it be proper to the place which is handled, that is, which either is contained plainly in the very words; or if it be gathered by consequent, that the same be fit and clear, and such as may rise upon the property of the word, grace of speech, and suit of the matter; and not be allegorical, strange, wrested, or far fetched. Now let that which is such, and chiefly which is fittest for the times and occasions of the church, be delivered. Farther, let the explication, confirmation, enlargement, and application, and the whole treatise and handling of it, be in the vulgar tongue; and let the whole confirmation and proof be made by arguments, testimonies, and examples, taken only out of the Holy Scriptures, applied fitly, and according to the natural meaning of the places that are alleged.

The second thing to be performed by him that preacheth, is a reverend gravity; this is considered first in the style, phrase, and manner of speech, that it be spiritual, pure, proper, simple, and applied to the capacity of the people; nor such as human wisdom teacheth, nor savouring of new-fangledness, nor either so affectate as it may serve for pomp

and ostentation, or so careless and base, as becometh not ministers of the word of God. Secondly, it is also to be regarded as well in ordering the voice, in which a care must be had, that (avoiding the keeping always of one tune) it may be equal, and both rise and fall by degrees: as also in ordering the gesture, wherein (the body being upright) the guiding and ordering the whole body is to follow the voice, there being avoided in it all unseemly gestures of the head, or other parts, and often turning of the body to divers sides. Finally, let the gesture be grave, modest, and seemly, not utterly none, nor too much neither, like the gestures of plays or fencers.

These things are to be performed by him that preacheth; whereby, when need requireth, they may be examined who are trained and exercised to be made fit to preach: let there be, if it may be, every sabbath-day, two sermons, and let them that preach always endeavour to keep themselves within one hour, especially on the week-days. The use of preaching at burials is to be left as it may be done conveniently; because there is danger that they may nourish the superstition of some, or be abused to pomp and vanity.

Of the Catechism.

Let the catechism be taught in every church. Let there be two sorts. One more large applied to the delivering of the sum of religion by a suit and order of certain places of the Scriptures, according to which some point of the holy doctrine may be expounded every week. Another of the same sort, but shorter, fit for the examination of the rude and ignorant before they be admitted to the Lord's supper.

Of the other parts of Liturgy or divine Service.

All the rest of the liturgy or divine service consisteth in the administration of the sacraments, and, by the custom of the church, in the blessing of marriage: the most commodious form thereof is that which is used by the churches that have reformed their ——— discipline according to the word of God.

Of Sacraments.

Let only a minister of the word, that is, a preacher, minis-

ter the sacraments, and that after the preaching of the word, and not in any other place than in the public assemblies of the church.

Of Baptism.

Women only may not offer unto baptism those that are to be baptized, but the father, if it may be, or in his name some other. They which present unto baptism, ought to be persuaded not to give those that are baptized the names of God, or of Christ, or of angels, or of holy offices, as of Baptist, Evangelist, &c. nor such as savour of paganism or Popery; but chiefly such whereof there are examples in the Holy Scriptures, in the names of those who are reported in them to have been godly and virtuous.

Of the Communion.

Let the time of celebrating the communion be made known eight days before, that the congregation may prepare themselves, and that the elders may do their duty in going to and visiting whom they ought.

Of signifying their Names that are to communicate.

Let them which before have not been received to the Lord's table, when they first desire to come to it, give their names to the minister seven days before the communion, that care of inquiring of them may be committed to the elders; that if there be any cause of hinderance, there may be stay made betime; but if there be no such thing, let them proceed (where need may be) to the examining of their faith, before the communion. Let this whole treatise of discipline be read in the consistory; and let the ministers, elders, and deacons, be censured one after another; yet so that the minister concerning doctrine be censured of ministers only.

Let them only be admitted to the communion, that have made confession of their faith, and submitted themselves to the discipline; unless they shall bring letters testimonial of good credit from some other place, or shall approve themselves by some other sufficient testimony.

Children are not to be admitted to the communion before they be of the age of fourteen years, except the consistory shall otherwise determine.

On the sabbath-day next before the communion, let mention be made in the sermon of the examination, whereunto the apostle exhorteth, and of the peace that is by faith; in the day of the communion, let there be speech of the doctrine of the sacraments, and especially of the Lord's supper.

Of Fasting.

Let the day of fasting be published by the pastor according to the advice of the consistory, either for supplication, for turning away of calamities present, or for petition of some special grace. Let the sermons upon the same day, before and after noon (as on the Lord's day), be such as may be fit for the present occasion.

Of Holidays.

Holidays are conveniently to be abolished.

Of Marriage.

Let espousing go before marriage. Let the words of espousing be of the present time, and without condition, and before sufficient witnesses on both sides. It is to be wished, that the minister, or any elder, be present at the espousals, who having called upon God, may admonish both parties of their duties. First, may have care of avoiding the degrees forbidden both by the law of God and man: and then they may demand of them, whether they be free from any bond of marriage; which if they profess and be strangers, he may also require sufficient testimony. Farther also, they are to be demanded, whether they have been married before, and of the death of the party with whom they were married, which if they acknowledge and be strangers, he may demand convenient testimony of the death of the other party. Finally, let them be asked if they be under the government of any? whether they whom it concerneth have consented?

The espousals being done in due order, let them not be dissolved, though both parties should consent. Let the marriage be solemnized within two months after. Before the marriage let the promise be published three several sabbath-days; but first, let the parties espoused, with their parents or governors, desire the publishing thereof, of the minister and two elders at the least, that they may be de-

manded of those things that are needful; and let them require to see the instrument of the covenant of the marriage, or at least sufficient testimony of the espousals. Marriage may be solemnized and blessed upon any ordinary day of public prayer, saving upon a day of fast.

Of Schools.

Let children be instructed in schools, both in other learning, and especially in the catechism, that they may repeat it by heart, and understand it: when they are so instructed, let them be brought to the Lord's supper, after they have been examined by the minister, and allowed by him.

Of Students of Divinity, and their Exercises.

In every church where it may conveniently be done, care is to be had that some poor scholars, studious of divinity, being fit for theological exercises, and especially for expounding of Holy Scripture, may, by the liberality of the godly rich, be taught and trained up to preach.

Let that exposition, as often as it shall be convenient to be had, be in the presence at least of one minister, by whose presence they may be kept in order, and in the same sort (as touching the manner of preaching) that public sermons are made; which being ended, let the other students (he being put apart that was speaker) note wherein he hath failed in any of those things that are to be performed by him that preacheth publicly, as is set down before: of whose opinion let the minister that is present, and is moderator of their exercise, judge and admonish the speaker as he shall think meet.

Of Elders.

Let the elders know every particular house and person of the church, that they may inform the minister of the condition of every one, and the deacons of the sick and poor, that they may take care to provide for them: they are not to be perpetual; neither yet easily to be changed.

Of Consistories.

In the consistory the most voices are to be yielded unto. In it only ecclesiastical things are to be handled. Of them, first they are to be dealt with such as belong to the common

direction of the public assembly, in the order of liturgy, or divine service, sermon, prayers, sacraments, marriages, and burials. Then with such also as pertain to the oversight of every one, and their particular deeds. Farther, they are to cause such things as shall be thought meet, to be registered and written in a book. They are also to cause to be written in another book, the names of them that are baptized, with the names of their parents and sureties: likewise of the communicants. Farther also are to be noted, their names that are married, that die, and to whom letters testimonial are given.

Of the Censures.

None is to be complained of unto the consistory, unless first the matter being uttered with silencing the parties' names, if it seem meet so to be done by the judgment of the consistory.

In private and less faults, the precept of Christ, Matt. xviii. is to be kept.

Greater and public offences are to be handled by the consistory. Farther, public offences are to be esteemed, first, Such as are done openly before all, or whomsoever, the whole church knowing of it. Secondly, Such as be done in a public place, albeit few know it. Thirdly, That are made such by pertinacy and contempt. Fourthly, That for the heinousness of the offence are to be punished with some grievous civil punishment.

They that are to be excommunicated, being in public charge in the church, are to be deposed also from their charges. They also are to be discharged that are unfit for the ministry, by reason of their ignorance, or of some incurable disease; or by any other such cause, are disabled to perform their ministry: but in the rooms of such as are disabled by means of sickness or age, let another be placed without the reproach of him that is discharged; and farther, so as the reverence of the ministry may remain unto him, and he may be provided for, liberally and in good order.

When there is question concerning a heretic complained of to the consistory, straight let two or three neighbour ministers be called, men godly and learned, and free from that suspicion, by whose opinion he may be suspended, till such time as the conference may take knowledge of his cause.

The obstinate, after admonition by the consistory, though the fault have not been so great, are to be suspended from the communion; and if they continue in their obstinacy, this shall be the order to proceed to their excommunication. Three several sabbath-days after the sermon, publicly let be declared the offence committed by the offender. The first sabbath let not the offender's name be published: the second let it be declared, and withal a certain day of the week named, to be kept for that cause in fasting and prayer: the third let warning be given of his excommunicating to follow the next sabbath after, except there may be shewed some sufficient cause to the contrary: so upon the fourth sabbath-day, let the sentence of excommunication be pronounced against him, that his spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord.

He that hath committed great offences, opprobrious to the church, and to be grievously punished by the magistrate's authority; albeit he profess his repentance in words, yet for the trial thereof, and to take away the offence, let him for a time be kept from the communion; which how often and how long it is to be done, let the consistory, according to their discretion, determine; after which, if the party repent, he is brotherly to be received again, but not until he have openly professed his repentance before the church, by consent whereof he should have been excommunicated.

If the ministers of any public charge of the church commit any such thing, they are to be deposed from their charge.

Of the Assemblies of the Church.

Particular churches are to communicate one with another, by common meetings and resorts: in them only ecclesiastical matters are to be handled, and of those, only such as pertain to the churches of that resort; concerning other churches, unless they be desired, they are to determine nothing farther than to refer such matters to their next common and great meeting.

Let the order of proceeding in them be this: first, let the survey be taken of those that are present, and the names of those that are absent, and should be there, be noted, that they may give a reason at their next meeting of their absence, or be censured by the judgment of the assembly. Next, let the acts of the last assembly of that kind be read,

that if any of the same remain unfinished, they may be dispatched: then, let those things be dealt in that are properly belonging to the present assembly; where first the instructions sent from the churches are to be delivered by every one in order, as they sit together, with their letters of credence. Secondly, Let the state of the churches of that resort be considered; to wit, how they are instructed and guided: whether the holy doctrine and discipline be taught and exercised in them; and whether the ministers of public charges do their duty, and such-like. Furthermore, they shall determine of those things that do appertain to the common state of all the churches of that resort, or unto any of the same; which way may be sufficient for the oversight of the churches. Lastly, if it seem meet, the delegates present may be censured.

They that are to meet in such assemblies, are to be chosen by the consent of the churches of that assembly and conference to whom it may appertain.

Let such only be chosen that exercise public function in the church, of ministry or eldership, and which have subscribed to the doctrine and discipline, and have promised to behave themselves according to the word of God: notwithstanding, it may be lawful also to be present for other elders and other ministers; and likewise (if the assembly think it meet) for deacons, and for students in divinity, especially those that exercise themselves in expounding the Holy Scriptures in the conferences, and be asked their opinion; which in students is to this end, that their judgment, in handling matters ecclesiastical, may be both tried and sharpened. But they only are to give voice which are chosen by the churches, and have brought their instructions signed from them.

If there fall out any very weighty matter to be consulted of, let notice of it be given to the moderator of the assembly next going before, or to the minister of that church where the next meeting is to be: the same is to send word of it in due time to the minister of every church of that assembly, they they may communicate it aforehand with those to whom it appertaineth, that the delegates resorting to the next meeting may understand and report their judgments.

In appointing of the place for the assembly, regard must be had of the convenient distance, and other commodities,

that no part may justly complain that they are burdensome above others.

In every such ecclesiastical assembly, it is meet there be a moderator: he is to have charge of the assembly, to see it kept in good order. He is always, if it may be conveniently, to be changed. The choice is to be in this manner:

The moderator of the former assembly of that kind, or, in his absence, the minister of the church where they meet, having first prayed fitly to that purpose, is to move the assembly to choose a moderator. He being chosen, is to provide that the things done in the assembly may be written, that the delegates of every church may write them out, and communicate them with the conferences from whence they came.

The moderator is also, by the order and judgment of the assembly, to give answer, either by speech or by letters, to such as desire any answer; and to execute censures, if any be to be executed. Farther, he is to procure all things to be done in it, godly and quietly; exhorting to meekness, moderation of spirit, and forbearing one of another where need shall be, and referring it to the assembly to take order for such as are obstinate and contentious. Lastly, he is to remember them of the next meeting following, with thanks for their pains, and exhortation to proceed cheerfully in their callings; and so courteously to dismiss the assembly. Before such time none may depart without leave of the assembly.

Those assemblies, according to their kinds, have great authority, if they be greater, and less if they be less. Therefore, unless it be a plain act, and manifest unto all, if any think himself injured by the less meeting, he may appeal still unto a greater, till he come to a general council; so that he ascend orderly from the less to the next greater. But it is to be understood, that the sentence of the assemblies be holden firm, until it be otherwise judged by an assembly of greater authority.

Assemblies or Meetings are either Conferences or Synods.

Conferences are the meetings of the elders of a few churches, as for example of twelve. There are to meet in a conference, chosen of the eldership of every particular

church, one minister, and one elder. The conferences are to be kept once in six weeks.

They are specially to look into the state of the churches of that resort and conference; examining particularly these several points: Whether all things be done in them according to the holy doctrine and discipline of the gospel; to wit, whether any questions be moved concerning any point of doctrine? Whether the ecclesiastical discipline be duly observed? Whether any minister be wanting in any of those churches, that a sufficient one in due time may be procured? Whether the other ministers of public charge in the church be appointed in every congregation? Whether care be had of schools, and for the poor? Finally, they are to be demanded wherein any of them needeth the advice of the conference, for the advancement of the gospel amongst them.

Before the end of the meeting, if it shall be so thought good by them, let one of the ministers assembled in conference, either chosen by voice, or taking it by turn, preach publicly. Of his speech, let the rest judge among themselves, the elders being put apart, admonish him brotherly, if there be any cause, examining all things according to those rules that are before declared in the chapter concerning the things that are to be performed by those that preach.

Of Synods.

A synod is the meeting of chosen men of many conferences: in them let the whole treatise of discipline be read: in them also, other things first being finished, as was said before, let all those that are present be censured, if it may be done conveniently, and let them also have a communion in and with the church where they were called.

There are two sorts of synods; the first is particular, which comprehendeth both the provincial and national synod. A provincial synod is the meeting of the chosen men of every conference within the province. A province containeth four-and-twenty conferences.

A fit way to call a provincial council may be this: the care thereof, except themselves will determine of it, may be committed to the particular eldership of some conference within the province; which, by advice of the same confer-

ence, may appoint the place and time for the meeting of the provincial synod.

To that church or eldership are to be sent the matters that seemed, to the particular conferences, more difficult for them to take order in, and such as belong to the churches of the whole province; which is to be done diligently, and in good time, that the same may, in due season, give notice of the place and time of the synod, and of the matters to be debated therein, that they which shall be sent may come the better prepared, and judge of them according to the advice of the conferences.

Two ministers, and as many elders, are to be sent from every conference unto the provincial synod. The same is to be held every half year, or oftener, till the discipline be settled. It is to be held three months before every national synod; that they may prepare and make ready those things that pertain to the national. The acts of the provincial synod are to be sent unto the national, by the eldership of that church in which it was holden; and every minister is to be furnished with a copy of them, and with the reasons of the same. A national synod, or convocation, is a meeting of the chosen men of every province, within the dominion of the same nation and civil government. The way to call it, unless it shall determine otherwise, may be the same with the provincial, that is, by the eldership of some particular church, which shall appoint the time and place of the next national convocation; but not otherwise than by the advice of their provincial synod.

Out of every provincial synod there are to be chosen three ministers, and as many elders, to be sent to the national. They are to handle the things pertaining to the churches of the whole nation or kingdom, as the doctrine, discipline, ceremonies, things not decided by inferior meetings, appeals, and such-like. By the order of the same, one is to be appointed which may gather into one book the notes of every particular church.

Thus much for particular meetings; the universal followeth, which is called a general, or œcumenical council; which is a meeting of the chosen men of every national synod. The acts of all such councils are to be registered and reported in a book.

The discipline, entitled, "The Discipline of the Church," described in the word of God, as far as we can judge, is taken and drawn from the most pure fountain of the word of God; and containeth in it the discipline of the church that is necessary, essential, and common to all ages of the church.

The synodical also adjoined, as it resteth upon the same foundations, is likewise necessary and perpetual; but as far as it is not expressly confirmed by authority of the Holy Scripture, but is applied to the use and times of the church as their diverse states may require, according to the analogy and general rules of the same Scripture, is to be judged profitable for the churches that receive it, but may be changed in such things as belong not to the essence of the discipline upon a like godly reason, as the diverse estates of the church may require.

The Form of the Subscription.

The brethren of the conference of N. whose names are here underwritten, have subscribed this discipline after this manner:—This discipline we allow as a godly discipline, and agreeable to the word of God; yet so as we may be satisfied in the things hereunto noted, and desire the same so acknowledged by us, to be furthered by all lawful means; that by public authority of the magistrate, and of our church, it may be established.

Which thing, if it may be obtained of her right excellent majesty, and other the magistrates of this kingdom, we promise that we will do nothing against it, whereby the public peace of the church may be troubled. In the mean time we promise to observe it, so far as may be lawful for us so to do, by the public laws of this kingdom, and by the peace of our church.

No. V.

A Letter of the Puritan Ministers imprisoned, to her Majesty, in Vindication of their Innocence; dated April 1592.

"May it please your excellent majesty,

"THERE is nothing, right gracious sovereign, next to the

saving mercy of Almighty God, that can be more comfortable than your highness's favour, as to all other your faithful and dutiful subjects, so to us your majesty's most humble suppliants, who are by our calling ministers of God's holy word; and by our present condition now, and of long time, prisoners in divers prisons in and about the city of London; for which cause our most humble suit is, that it may please your most excellent majesty, graciously to understand our necessary answer to such grievous charges as we hear to be informed against us, which, if they were true, might be just cause of withdrawing for ever from us your highness's gracious protection and favour, which, above all other earthly things, we most desire to enjoy. The reason of our trouble is, a suspicion that we should be guilty of many heinous crimes; but these supposed crimes we have not been charged with in any due and ordinary course of proceeding, by open accusation and witnesses. But being called up to London by authority of some of your majesty's commissioners in causes ecclesiastical, we have been required by them to take an oath of inquisition, or office, as it is called; for not taking whereof we were first committed to prison, and since have continued there a long time, notwithstanding that all of us, save one, have been deprived of our livings, and degraded of our ministry.

"Wherefore, for that the oath is the next and immediate cause of our trouble, we have made our answer first to that, and then after also to the crimes that are suggested, and secretly informed against us.

The Oath.

"As for the oath, the reason why we took it not, is because it is without limitation of any certain matter, infinite and general, to answer whatsoever shall be demanded of us. Of this kind of oath we find neither rule nor example in the word of God; but contrariwise, both precepts and precedents of all lawful oaths reported in the same tend to this, that an oath ought to be taken with judgment, and so as he that sweareth may see the bounds of his oath, and to what condition it does bind him, &c. But this oath is to inquire of our private speeches and conferences, with our dearest and nearest friends; yea, of the very secret thoughts and intents of our hearts, that so we may furnish both matter of

accusation and evidence of proof against ourselves, which was not used to be done in causes of heresy or high-treason; for these are the words of the statutes of your most noble father, Henry VIII.* 'For that the most expert and best learned cannot escape the danger of such captious interrogatories (as the law calleth them) which are accustomed to be administered by the ordinaries of this realm; as also that it standeth not with the right order of justice, or good equity, that any person should be convicted, or put to the loss of life, good name, or goods, unless it be by due accusation and witness, or by presentment, verdict, confession, or process of outlawry;—and farther, for the avoiding untrue accusations and presentments which might be maliciously conspired, and kept secret and unrevealed, till time might be espied to have men thereof by malice convicted,' it was ordained, that none should be put to answer but upon accusation and presentments taken in open and manifest courts, by the oath of twelve men.†

Schism.

"As to the charge of schism, and that we so far condemned the state of the church, that we hold it not for any true, visible church of God, as it is established by public authority within the land, and therefore refuse to have any part or communion with it in public prayers, or in the ministry of the word and sacraments: if this were true, we were of all men living the most unthankful, first to Almighty God, and next, to your excellent majesty, by whose blessed means we are partakers of that happy liberty of the profession of the gospel, and of the true service of God, that by your highness's gracious government we do enjoy. We acknowledge unfeignedly, as in the sight of God, that this our church, as it is by your highness's laws and authority established among us, having that faith professed and taught publicly in it, that was agreed of in the convocation of 1562, and such form of public prayers and administration of the sacraments, as in the first year of your most gracious reign was established (notwithstanding any thing that may need to be revised and farther reformed) is a true visible church of Christ, from the holy communion whereof, by way of schism, it is not lawful to depart.

* An. 25 Hen. VIII. cap. 14. † An. 55 Hen. VIII. cap. 15. §. 3.

"Our whole life may shew the evident proof hereof; for always before the time of our trouble, we have lived in the daily communion of it, not only as private men, but at the time of our restraint (as many years before) preached and exercised our ministry in the same; and at this present, most earnestly beseech all in authority that is set over us, especially your excellent majesty, that we may so proceed to serve God and your highness all the days of our life.

Rebellion.

"Another crime suggested against us is, that we should practise or purpose rebelliously to procure such farther reformation of our church as we desire, by violent and undutiful means. Whereunto our answer is, that as we think it not lawful to make a schism in the church for any thing that we esteem needful to be reformed in it, so do we, in all simplicity and sincerity of heart, declare, in the presence of Almighty God, to whom all secrets are known, and of your excellent majesty, to whom the sword is given of God for just vengeance and punishment of transgressors, that for procuring reformation of any thing that we desire to be redressed in the state of our church, we judge it most unlawful and damnable by the word of God to rebel, and by force of arms or any violent means to seek redress thereof: and moreover, that we never intended to use or procure any other means for the furtherance of such reformation, than only prayer to Almighty God, and most humble suit to your excellent majesty, and others in authority, with such-like dutiful and peaceable means as might give information of this our suit, and of the reasons moving us thereunto.

Supremacy.

"The third crime misinformed against us is, that we impeach your majesty's supremacy. For answer whereunto we unfeignedly protest (God being witness, that we speak the truth herein from our hearts), that we acknowledge your highness's sovereignty and supreme power, next and immediately under God, over all persons, and in all causes, as well ecclesiastical as civil, in as large and ample manner as it is agnized by the high court of parliament in the statute of recognition, and is set down in the oath of supremacy enacted by the same; and as it is farther declared in

your majesty's injunctions, and also in the articles of religion agreed in the convocation, and in sundry books of learned men of our nation, published and allowed by public authority. We add yet hereunto, that we acknowledge the same as fully as ever it was in old time acknowledged by the prophets to belong to the virtuous kings of Judah; and as all the reformed churches in Christendom acknowledge the same to their sovereign princes, in the confessions of their faith exhibited unto them, as they are set down in a book named the Harmony of Confessions, and the observations annexed thereunto.

"And besides the protestation, we appeal to the former whole course of our lives, wherein it cannot be shewed, that we ever made question of it; and more particularly by our public doctrine, declaring the same; and by our taking the oath of supremacy as occasion hath required.

Excommunication.

"It hath been odiously devised against us, concerning the persons subject to excommunication, and the power thereof, how far it extendeth; touching the former—we judge not otherwise herein, than all the reformed churches that are this day in the Christian world, nor than our own English church, both always heretofore hath judged, and doth still at this present, as may appear by the articles of religion agreed by the convocation, and by a book of homilies allowed by the same, and also by sundry other books of greatest credit and authority in our church; which is, that the word of God, the sacraments, and the power of binding and loosing, are all ordinances of Almighty God, graciously ordained for the comfort and salvation of the whole church; and that therefore no part or member of it is to be denied the comfortable, wholesome aid and benefit thereof, for the furtherance of their faith, and (as need may require) of their repentance, &c.

"For the other part, how far this censure extendeth, we profess that it depriveth a man only of spiritual comforts, as of being partaker of the Lord's table, and being present at the public prayers of the church, or such-like, without taking away either liberty, goods, lands, government private or public whatsoever, or any other civil or earthly commodity of this life. Wherefore, from our hearts we detest

and abhor that intolerable presumption of the bishop of Rome, taking upon him, in such cases, to depose sovereign princes from their highest seats of supreme government, and discharging their subjects from that dutiful obedience, that by the laws of God they ought to perform.

Conferences.

"Concerning our conferences, we have been charged to have given orders, and made ministers, and to have administered the censures of the church, and finally to have exercised all ecclesiastical jurisdiction. To which suggestion we answer, that indeed of long time we have used, as other ministers have done (as we think in most parts of the land), to meet sometimes and confer together; which being granted to all good and dutiful subjects upon occasion to resort and meet together, we esteem it is lawful for us to do so.

"For besides the common affairs of all men, which may give them just cause to meet with their acquaintance and friends, mutually to communicate for their comfort and help one with another; men professing learning have more necessary and special use of such conferences, for their furtherance in such knowledge as they profess.—But such as are professed ministers of the word have sundry great and necessary causes so to do more than others, because of the manifold knowledge both of divinity, and also of divers tongues and sciences, that are of great use for the better enabling them for their ministry; in which respect the conferences of the ministers were allowed by many bishops within their diocesses, and to our knowledge never disallowed or forbidden by any. Some late years also have given us more special cause of conferring together, where Jesuits, Seminaries, and other heretics, sought to seduce many; and wherein also some schismatics condemned the whole state of our church, as no part of the true visible church of Christ, and therefore refused to have any part or communion with it: upon which occasion, it is needful for us to advise of the best way and means we could, to keep the people that we had charge to instruct from such damnable errors.

"Farther also particularly, because some reckoned us to have part with their schism, and reported us to agree in nothing, but to differ one from another in the reformation we desire; we have special cause to confer together, that we

might set down some things touching such matters, which at all times, whensoever we should be demanded, might be our true and just defence, both to clear us from partaking with the schism, and to witness for us that we agreed in the reformation we desire.

"But as touching the thing surmised of our meetings, that we exercise in them all ecclesiastical jurisdiction, in making ministers, in censuring and excommunicating, in ordaining constitutions and orders upon such censures to bind any; we protest before God and the holy angels, that we never exercised any part of such jurisdiction, nor had any purpose agreed among us to exercise the same, before we should by public law be authorized thereunto.

"Farther also, touching such our meetings, we affirm that they were only of ministers (saving in some parts where a schoolmaster, two or three, desirous to train themselves to the ministry joined with us), and the same, but of six or seven, or like small number in a conference, without all deed of appearance that might be offensive to any.

Singularity.

"Which though it be not subject to any punishment of law, yet is suggested against us by such as favour not our most humble desire of a farther reformation, to disgrace us, and make us odious with others, and chiefly with your excellent majesty; whereunto our answer is, that the discipline of the primitive church is ancient and so acknowledged by the book of Common Prayer—in these words, "that there was a godly discipline in the primitive church; instead whereof, until the said discipline may be restored again (which thing is much to be wished), it is thought convenient to use such a form of commination as is prescribed.

"Farther also, if it please your majesty with favour to understand it from us, we are ready to shew, that in such points of ecclesiastical discipline of our church, which we desire most humbly may be reformed, we hold no singular or private opinion, but the truth of the word of God, acknowledged to be such by all the best churches and writers of ancient time, and of this present age.

"Thus have we declared, right gracious sovereign, truly and sincerely, as we will answer it before God, and to your majesty upon our allegiance, what judgment we are of con-

cerning the matters informed against us; and farther testify, that no minister within this land desiring a farther reformation, with whom we have had any private acquaintance or conference of these matters (whosoever may be otherwise informed), is of any other mind or opinion in these cases that have been named; by which declaration, if (according to our earnest prayers to Almighty God) your majesty shall clearly discern us to stand free from all such matters as we are charged with, our most humble suit is, that your majesty's gracious favour (which is more dear and precious to us than our lives) may be extended to us, and that by means thereof we may enjoy the comfortable liberty of our persons and ministry, as we did before our troubles; which if by your highness's special mercy and goodness we may obtain, we promise and vow to Almighty God, and your excellent majesty, to behave ourselves in so peaceable and dutiful sort in every respect, as may give no just cause of your highness's offence, but according to our callings, both in doctrine and example as heretofore, so always hereafter, to teach due obedience to your majesty among other parts of holy doctrine; and to pray for your majesty's long and blessed reign over us," &c.*

No. VI.

Articles of religion agreed upon by the archbishops and bishops, and the rest of the clergy of Ireland, in the convocation holden at Dublin, in the year of our Lord 1615, for the avoiding of diversities of opinions, and the establishing of consent touching true religion.

N. B. In these articles are comprehended, almost word for word the nine articles, agreed on at Lambeth the 20th of November, 1595. This mark * points at each of them, and their number.

Of the Holy Scriptures and the Three Creeds.

1. The ground of our religion, and the rule of faith, and all saving truth, is the word of God, contained in the Holy Scripture.

* Strype's Ann. vol. ult. p. 85, &c.

2. By the name of Holy Scripture we understand all the canonical books of the Old and New Testament, viz.

Of the Old Testament.

The five books of Moses,
Joshua,
Judges,
Ruth,
The first and second of Samuel,
The first and second of Kings,
The first and second of Chronicles,
Ezra,
Nehemiah,
Esther,
Job,
Psalms,
Proverbs,
Ecclesiastes,
The Song of Solomon,
Isaiah,
Jeremiah, his prophecy and Lamentation,
Ezekiel,
Daniel,
The twelve less prophets.

Of the New Testament.

The Gospels according to Matthew,
Mark,
Luke,
John,
The Acts of the Apostles,
The Epistle of St. Paul to the Romans,
The First and Second Epistle to the Corinthians,
Galatians,
Ephesians,
Philippians,
Colossians,
The First and Second Epistle to the Thessalonians,
The First and Second Epistle to Timothy,
Titus,
Philemon,
Hebrews,
The Epistle of St. James,
The two Epistles of St. Peter,
The three Epistles of St. John,
St. Jude,
The Revelation of St. John.

All which we acknowledge to be given by the inspiration of God, and in that regard to be of most certain credit and highest authority.

3. The other books, commonly called Apocryphal, did not proceed from such inspiration, and therefore are not of sufficient authority to establish any point of doctrine; but the church doth read them as books containing many worthy things for example of life and instruction of manners.

Such are these following;

The third book of Esdras,
The fourth book of Esdras,
The book of Tobias,
The book of Judith,
Additions to the book of Esther,
The book of Wisdom,
The book of Jesus the Son of Sirach, called Ecclesiasticus.
Baruch, with the epistle of Jeremiah,
The Song of the Three Children,
Susannah,
Bell and the Dragon,
The Prayer of Manasses,
The first book of Maccabees,
The Second book of Maccabees.

4. The Scriptures ought to be translated out of the original tongues into all languages, for the common use of all men. Neither is any person to be discouraged from reading the Bible in such a language as he doth understand, but seriously exhorted to read the same with great humility and reverence, as a special means to bring him to the true knowledge of God, and of his own duty.

5. Although there be some hard things in the Scripture (especially such as have proper relation to the times in which they were first uttered, and prophecies of things which were afterward to be fulfilled), yet all things necessary to be known unto everlasting salvation, are clearly delivered therein; and nothing of that kind is spoken under dark mysteries in one place, which is not in other places spoken more familiarly and plainly to the capacity both of learned and unlearned.

6. The Holy Scriptures contain all things necessary to salvation, and are able to instruct sufficiently in all points of faith that we are bound to believe, and all good duties that we are bound to practise.

7. All and every the articles contained in the Nicene creed, the creed of Athanasius, and that which is commonly called the Apostles' creed, ought firmly to be received and believed, for they may be proved by most certain warrant of Holy Scripture.

Of Faith in the Holy Trinity.

8. There is but one living and true God, everlasting, without body, parts, or passions, of infinite power, wisdom, and goodness; the maker and preserver of all things, both visible and invisible. And in unity of this Godhead there be three persons of one and the same substance, power, and eternity, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.

9. The essence of the Father doth not beget the essence of the Son; but the person of the Father begetteth the person of the Son, by communicating his whole essence to the person begotten from eternity.

10. The Holy Ghost, proceeding from the Father and the Son, is of one substance, majesty, and glory, with the Father and the Son, very and eternal God.

Of God's eternal Decree and Predestination.

11. God from all eternity did, by his unchangeable counsel, ordain whatsoever in time should come to pass; yet so, as thereby no violence is offered to the wills of the reasonable creatures, and neither the liberty nor the contingency of the second cause is taken away, but established rather.

* 12. "By the same eternal counsel God hath predestinated some unto life, and reprobated some unto death;

of both which there is a certain number, known only to God, which can neither be increased nor diminished."

13. Predestination to life is the everlasting purpose of God, whereby, before the foundations of the world were laid, he hath constantly decreed in his secret counsel, to deliver from curse and damnation, those whom he hath chosen in Christ out of mankind, and to bring them by Christ unto everlasting salvation, as vessels made to honour.

* II. 14. "The cause moving God to predestinate unto life, is not the foreseeing of faith, or of perseverance, or of good works, or of any thing which is in the person predestinated, but only the good pleasure of God himself."

For all things being ordained for the manifestation of his glory, and his glory being to appear, both in the works of his mercy and of his justice, it seemed good to his heavenly wisdom to choose out a certain number, towards whom he would extend his undeserved mercy, leaving the rest to be spectacles of his justice.

15. Such as are predestinated unto life be called according unto God's purpose (his Spirit working in due season), and through grace they obey the calling; they be justified freely; they be made sons of God by adoption; they be made like the image of his only-begotten Son Jesus Christ; they walk religiously in good works, and at length by God's mercy they attain to everlasting felicity.

* IV. "But such as are not predestinated to salvation, shall finally be condemned for their sins."

16. The godly consideration of predestination, and our election in Christ, is full of sweet, pleasant, and unspeakable comfort to godly persons, and such as feel in themselves the working of the Spirit of Christ, mortifying the works of the flesh, and their earthly members, and drawing up their minds to high and heavenly things, as well because it doth greatly confirm and establish their faith of eternal salvation to be enjoyed through Christ, as because it doth fervently kindle their love towards God; and on the contrary side, for curious and carnal persons, lacking the Spirit of Christ, to have continually before their eyes the sentence of God's predestination, is very dangerous.

17. We must receive God's promises in such wise as they be generally set forth unto us in Holy Scripture; and in our

doings, that will of God is to be followed, which we have expressly declared unto us in the word of God.

Of the Creation and Government of all Things.

18. In the beginning of time, when no creature had any being, God by his word alone, in the space of six days, created all things; and afterward by his Providence doth continue, propagate, and order them, according to his own will.

19. The principal creatures are angels and men.

20. Of angels, some continued in that holy state wherein they were created, and are by God's grace for ever established therein; others fell from the same, and are reserved in chains of darkness unto the judgment of the great day.

21. Man being at the beginning created according to the image of God (which consisted especially in the wisdom of his mind, and the true holiness of his free-will), had the covenant of the law ingrafted in his heart, whereby God did promise unto him everlasting life, upon condition that he performed entire and perfect obedience unto his commandments, according to that measure of strength wherewith he was endued in his creation, and threatened death unto him if he did not perform the same.

Of the Fall of Man, Original Sin, and the State of Man before Justification.

22. By one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin, and so death went over all men, forasmuch as all have sinned.

23. Original sin standeth not in the imitation of Adam (as the Pelagians dream), but is the fault and corruption of the nature of every person that naturally is engendered and propagated from Adam, whereby it cometh to pass, that man is deprived of original righteousness, and by nature is bent unto sin; and therefore in every person born into the world, it deserveth God's wrath and damnation.

24. This corruption of nature doth remain even in those that are regenerated, whereby the flesh always lusteth against the Spirit, and cannot be made subject to the law of God. And howsoever, for Christ's sake, there be no condemnation to such as are regenerate and do believe; yet

doth the apostle acknowledge, that in itself this concupiscence hath the nature of sin.

* IX. 25. "The condition of man, after the fall of Adam, is such, that he cannot turn and prepare himself, by his own natural strength and good works, to faith, and calling upon God."

Wherefore we have no power to do good works, pleasing and acceptable unto God, without the grace of God preventing us, that we may have a good will, and working with us, when we have that good will.

26. Works done before the grace of Christ, and the inspiration of his Spirit, are not pleasing unto God, forasmuch as they spring not of faith in Jesus Christ, neither do they make men meet to receive grace (or, as the school authors say, deserve grace of congruity); yea rather, for that they are not done in such sort that God hath willed and commanded them to be done, we doubt not but they are sinful.

27. All sins are not equal, but some far more heinous than others; yet the very least is of its own nature mortal, and without God's mercy maketh the offender liable unto everlasting damnation.

28. God is not the author of sin: howbeit he doth not only permit, but also by his providence govern and order the same, guiding it in such sort by his infinite wisdom, as it turneth to the manifestation of his own glory, and to the good of his elect.

Of Christ, the Mediator of the second Covenant.

29. The Son, which is the Word of the Father, begotten from everlasting of the Father, the true and eternal God, of one substance with the Father, took man's nature in the womb of the blessed Virgin, of her substance; so that two whole and perfect natures, that is to say, the Godhead and manhood, were inseparably joined in one person, making one Christ, very God and very man.

30. Christ, in the truth of our nature, was made like unto us in all things, sin only excepted, from which he was clearly void, both in his life and in his nature. He came as a lamb without spot to take away the sins of the world, by the sacrifice of himself once made, and sin (as St. John saith) was not in him. He fulfilled the law for us per-

fectly; for our sakes he endured most grievous torments immediately in his soul, and most painful sufferings in his body. He was crucified, and died to reconcile his Father unto us; and to be a sacrifice not only for original guilt, but also for all our actual transgressions. He was buried, and descended into hell, and the third day rose from the dead, and took again his body, with flesh, bones, and all things appertaining to the perfection of man's nature, wherewith he ascended into heaven, and there sitteth at the right hand of his Father, until he return to judge all men at the last day.

Of the communicating of the Grace of Christ.

31. They are to be condemned that presume to say, that every man shall be saved by the law or sect which he professeth, so that he be diligent to frame his life according to that law, and the light of nature; for Holy Scripture doth set out unto us only the name of Jesus Christ whereby men must be saved.

32. * VIII. "None can come unto Christ unless it be given unto him, and unless he draw him. And all men are not so drawn by the Father, that they may come unto the Son; [*VII.] neither is there such a sufficient measure of grace vouchsafed unto every man, whereby he is enabled to come unto everlasting life."

33. All God's elect are in their time inseparably united unto Christ, by the effectual and vital influence of the Holy Ghost, derived from him, as from the head, unto every true member of his mystical body. And being thus made one with Christ, they are truly regenerated, and made partakers of him and all his benefits.

Of Justification and Faith.

34. We are accounted righteous before God, only for the merit of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, applied by faith, and not for our own works or merits. And this righteousness, which we so receive of God's mercy and Christ's merits, embraced by faith, is taken, accepted, and allowed of God, for our perfect and full justification.

35. Although this justification be free unto us, yet it cometh not so freely unto us, that there is no ransom paid therefore at all. God shewed his mercy in delivering us

from our former captivity, without requiring any ransom to be paid, or amends to be made, on our parts, which thing by us had been impossible to be done. And whereas all the world was not able of themselves to pay any part towards their ransom, it pleased our heavenly Father, of his infinite mercy, without any desert of ours, to provide for us the most precious merits of his own Son, whereby our ransom might be fully paid, the law fulfilled, and his justice fully satisfied; so that Christ is now the righteousness of all them that truly believe in him: he for them paid their ransom by his death; he for them fulfilled the law in his life; that now in him, and by him, every true Christian man may be called a fulfiller of the law; forasmuch as that which our infirmity was not able to effect, Christ's justice hath performed; and thus the justice and mercy of God do embrace each other, the grace of God not shutting out the justice of God in the matter of our justification, but only shutting out the justice of man (that is to say, the justice of our own works) from being any cause of deserving our justification.

36. When we say, that we are justified by faith only, we do not mean, that the said justifying faith is alone in man without true repentance, hope, charity, and the fear of God (for such a faith is dead, and cannot justify); neither do we mean, that this our act to believe in Christ, or this our faith in Christ, which is within us, doth of itself justify us, or deserve our justification unto us (for that were to account ourselves to be justified by the virtue or dignity of something that is within ourselves); but the true understanding and meaning thereof is, that although we hear God's word, and believe it; although we have faith, hope, charity, repentance, and the fear of God, within us, and add never so many good works thereunto, yet we must renounce the merit of all our said virtues, of faith, hope, charity, and all our other virtues and good deeds, which we either have done, shall do, or can do, as things that be far too weak, and imperfect, and insufficient, to deserve remission of our sins, and our justification; and therefore we must trust only in God's mercy, and the merits of his most dearly beloved Son, our only Redeemer, Saviour and Justifier, Jesus Christ. Nevertheless, because faith doth directly send us to Christ for our justification, and that by faith, given us of God, we

embrace the promise of God's mercy, and the remission of our sins (which thing none other of our virtues or works properly doth), therefore the Scripture useth to say, that faith without works, and the ancient fathers of the church to the same purpose, that only faith doth justify us.

37. By justifying faith we understand, not only the common belief of the articles of the Christian religion, and a persuasion of the truth of God's word in general, but also a particular application of the gracious promises of the gospel to the comfort of our own souls, whereby we lay hold on Christ with all his benefits, having an earnest trust and confidence in God, that he will be merciful unto us for his only Son's sake.

* VI. "So that a true believer may be certain, by the assurance of faith, of the forgiveness of his sins, and of his everlasting salvation by Christ."

38. * V. "A true, lively, justifying faith, and the sanctifying Spirit of God, is not extinguished, nor vanisheth away in the regenerate, either finally or totally."

Of Sanctification and Good Works.

39. All that are justified are likewise sanctified, their faith being always accompanied with true repentance and good works.

40. Repentance is a gift of God, whereby a godly sorrow is wrought in the heart of the faithful for offending God, their merciful Father, by their former transgressions, together with a constant resolution for the time to come to cleave unto God, and to lead a new life.

41. Albeit that good works, which are the fruits of faith, and follow after justification, cannot make satisfaction for our sins, and endure the severity of God's judgment; yet are they pleasing to God, and accepted of him in Christ, and do spring from a true and lively faith, which by them is to be discerned as a tree by the fruit.

42. The works which God would have his people to walk in, are such as he hath commanded in his Holy Scripture, and not such works as men have devised out of their own brain, of a blind zeal and devotion, without the warrant of the word of God.

43. The regenerate cannot fulfil the law of God per-

fectly in this life, for in many things we offend all; and if we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us.

44. Not every heinous sin willingly committed after baptism, is sin against the Holy Ghost and unpardonable; and therefore, to such as fall into sin after baptism, place for repentance is not to be denied.

45. Voluntary works, besides over and above God's commandments, which they call works of supererogation, cannot be taught without arrogancy and impiety; for by them men do declare, that they do not only render unto God as much as they are bound to do, but that they do more for his sake than of bounden duty is required.

Of the Service of God.

46. Our duty towards God, is to believe in him, to fear him, and to love him, with all our heart, with all our mind, and with all our soul, and with all our strength: to worship him, and to give him thanks, to put our whole trust in him, to call upon him, to honour his holy name and his word, and to serve him truly all the days our life.

47. In all our necessities we ought to have recourse unto God by prayer, assuring ourselves, that whatsoever we ask of the Father in the name of his Son (our only mediator and intercessor) Christ Jesus, and according to his will, he will undoubtedly grant it.

48. We ought to prepare our hearts before we pray, and understand the things that we ask when we pray, that both our hearts and voices may together sound in the ears of God's majesty.

49. When Almighty God smiteth us with affliction, or some great calamity hangeth over us, or any other weighty cause so requireth, it is our duty to humble ourselves in fasting, to bewail our sins with a sorrowful heart, and to addict ourselves to earnest prayer, that it might please God to turn his wrath from us, or supply us with such graces as we greatly stand in need of.

50. Fasting is a withholding of meat, drink, and all natural food, with other outward delights, from the body, for the determined time of fasting. "As for those abstinences which are appointed by public order of our state, for eating of fish, and forbearing of flesh at certain times and days ap-

pointed, they are no ways meant to be religious fasts, nor intended for the maintenance of any superstition in the choice of meats, but are grounded merely upon politic considerations, for provision of things tending to the better preservation of the commonwealth."

51. We must not fast with this persuasion of mind, that our fasting can bring us to heaven, or ascribe outward holiness to the work wrought; for God alloweth not our fast for the work's sake (which of itself is a thing merely indifferent), but chiefly respecteth the heart, how it is affected therein; it is therefore requisite, that first before all things we cleanse our hearts from sin, and then direct our fast to such ends as God will allow to be good; that the flesh may thereby be chastised, the spirit may be more fervent in prayer, and that our fasting may be a testimony of our humble submission to God's majesty, when we acknowledge our sins unto him, and are inwardly touched with sorrowfulness of heart, bewailing the same in the affliction of our bodies.

52. All worship devised by man's fantasy, besides or contrary to the Scriptures (as wandering on pilgrimages, setting up of candles, stations, and jubilees, pharisaical sects, and feigned religions, praying upon beads, and such-like superstition), hath not only no promise of reward in Scripture, but contrariwise threatenings and maledictions.

53. All manner of expressing God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, in an outward form, is utterly unlawful; as also all other images devised or made by man to the use of religion.

54. All religious worship ought to be given to God alone, from whom all goodness, health, and grace, ought to be both asked and looked for, as from the very author and giver of the same, and from none other.

55. The name of God is to be used with all reverence and holy respect, and therefore all vain and rash swearing is utterly to be condemned; yet notwithstanding, upon lawful occasions, an oath may be given and taken, according to the word of God, justice, judgment, and truth.

56. The first day of the week, which is the Lord's day, is wholly to be dedicated to the service of God, and therefore we are bound therein to rest from our common and

daily business, and to bestow that leisure upon holy exercises, both public and private.

Of the Civil Magistrate.

57. The king's majesty under God hath the sovereign and chief power, within his realms and dominions, over all manner of persons, of what estate, either ecclesiastical or civil, soever they be, so as no other foreign power hath or ought to have any superiority over them.

58. We do profess, that the supreme government of all estates within the said realms and dominions, in all causes, as well ecclesiastical as temporal, doth of right appertain to the king's highness. Neither do we give unto him hereby the administration of the word and sacraments, or the power of the keys, but that prerogative only which we see to have been always given unto all godly princes in Holy Scripture by God himself; that is, that he should contain all estates and degrees committed to his charge by God, whether they be ecclesiastical or civil, within their duty, and restrain the stubborn and evil-doers with the power of the civil sword.

59. The pope, neither of himself, nor by any authority of the church or see of Rome, or by any other means with any other, hath any power or authority to depose the king, or dispose of any of his kingdoms or dominions, or to authorize any other prince to invade or annoy him, or his countries, or to discharge any of his subjects of their allegiance and obedience to his majesty, or to give licence or leave to any of them to bear arms, raise tumult, or to offer any violence or hurt to his royal person, state, or government, or to any of his subjects within his majesty's dominions.

60. That princes which be excommunicated or deprived by the pope may be deposed or murdered by their subjects, or any other whatsoever, is impious doctrine.

61. The laws of the realm may punish Christian men with death for heinous and grievous offences.

62. It is lawful for Christian men, at the commandment of the magistrate, to bear arms, and to serve in just wars.

Of our Duty towards our Neighbours.

63. Our duty towards our neighbours, is to love them as ourselves, and to do to all men as we would they should do to us; to honour and obey our superiors, to preserve the

safety of men's persons, as also their chastity, goods, and good names; to bear no malice nor hatred in our hearts; to keep our bodies in temperance, soberness, and chastity; to be true and just in all our doings; not to covet other men's goods, but labour truly to get our own living, and to do our duty in that estate of life unto which it pleaseth God to call us.

64. For the preservation of the chastity of men's persons, wedlock is commanded unto all persons that stand in need thereof. Neither is there any prohibition by the word of God, but that the ministers of the church may enter into the state of matrimony, they being no where commanded by God's law, either to vow the state of single life, or to abstain from marriage; therefore it is lawful also for them, as well as for all other Christian men, to marry at their own discretion, as they shall judge the same to serve better to godliness.

65. The riches and goods of Christians are not common, as touching the right, title, and possession, of the same, as certain Anabaptists falsely affirm; notwithstanding every man ought, of such things as he possesseth, liberally to give alms to the poor, according to his ability.

66. Faith given is to be kept, even with heretics and infidels.

67. The Popish doctrine of equivocation and mental reservation is most ungodly, and tendeth plainly to the subversion of all human society.

Of the Church and outward Ministry of the Gospel.

68. There is but one catholic church (out of which there is no salvation), containing the universal company of all the saints that ever were, are, or shall be, gathered together in one body, under one head, Christ Jesus; part whereof is already in heaven triumphant, part as yet militant here upon earth. And because this church consisteth of all those, and those alone, which are elected by God unto salvation, and regenerated by the power of his Spirit, the number of whom is known only unto God himself, therefore it is called the catholic or universal, and the invisible church.

69. But particular and visible churches (consisting of those who make profession of the faith of Christ, and live under the outward means of salvation) be many in number;

wherein, the more or less sincerely, according to Christ's institution, the word of God is taught, the sacraments are administered, and the authority of the keys used is, the more or less pure as such churches to be accounted.

70. Although in the visible church the evil be ever mingled with the good; and sometimes the evil have chief authority in the ministration of the word and sacraments, yet forasmuch as they do not the same in their own name, but in Christ's, and minister by his commission and authority, we may use their ministry both in hearing the word, and in receiving the sacraments. Neither is the effect of Christ's ordinance taken away by their wickedness, nor the grace of God's gifts diminished from such as by faith do rightly receive the sacraments ministered unto them, which are effectual, because of Christ's institution and promise, although they be ministered by evil men. Nevertheless, it appertaineth to the discipline of the church, that inquiry be made of evil ministers, and that they be accused by those that have knowledge of their offences, and finally, being found guilty by just judgment, be deposed.

71. It is not lawful for any man to take upon him the office of public preaching, or ministering the sacraments of the church, unless he be first lawfully called, and sent to execute the same. And those we ought to judge lawfully called and sent, which be chosen and called to this work by men who have public authority given them in the church to call and send ministers into the Lord's vineyard.

72. To have public prayer in the church, or to administer the sacraments in a tongue not understood of the people, is a thing plainly repugnant to the word of God and the custom of the primitive church.

73. That person which by public denunciation of the church, is rightly cut off from the unity of the church, and excommunicate, ought to be taken of the whole multitude of the faithful as a heathen and publican, until by repentance he be openly reconciled and received into the church, by the judgment of such as have authority in that behalf.

74. God hath given power to his ministers not simply to forgive sins (which prerogative he hath reserved only to himself), but in his name to declare and pronounce unto such as truly repent, and unfeignedly believe his holy gospel, the absolution and forgiveness of sins. Neither is it

God's pleasure that his people should be tied to make a particular confession of all their known sins unto any mortal man; howsoever, any person, grieved in his conscience upon any special cause, may well resort unto any godly and learned minister, to receive advice and comfort at his hands.

Of the Authority of the Church, general Councils, and Bishop of Rome.

75. It is not lawful for the church to ordain any thing that is contrary to God's word; neither may it so expound one place of Scripture, that it be repugnant to another. Wherefore, although the church be a witness, and a keeper of holy writ, yet as it ought not to decree any thing against the same, so besides the same ought it not to enforce any thing to be believed upon necessity of salvation.

76. General councils may not be gathered together without the commandment and will of princes; and when they be gathered together (forasmuch as they be an assembly of men not always governed with the Spirit and word of God) they may err, and sometimes have erred, even in things pertaining to the rule of piety; wherefore things ordained by them as necessary to salvation, have neither strength nor authority, unless it may be shewed that they be taken out of the Holy Scriptures.

77. Every particular church hath authority to institute, to change, and clean to put away, ceremonies and other ecclesiastical rites, as they be superfluous, or be abused, and to constitute other, making more to seemliness, to order, or edification.

78. As the churches of Jerusalem, Alexandria, and Antioch, have erred, so also the church of Rome hath erred, not only in those things which concern matters of practice and point of ceremonies, but also in matters of faith.

79. The power which the bishop of Rome now challengeth, to be the supreme head of the universal church of Christ, and to be above all emperors, kings, and princes, is a usurped power, contrary to the Scriptures and word of God, and contrary to the example of the primitive church, and therefore is for most just causes taken away and abolished, within the king's majesty's realms and dominions.

80. The bishop of Rome is so far from being the supreme head of the universal church of Christ, that his works and

doctrine do plainly discover him to be that man of sin foretold in the Holy Scriptures, "whom the Lord shall consume with the spirit of his mouth, and abolish with the brightness of his coming."

Of the State of the Old and New Testament.

81. In the Old Testament the commandments of the law were more largely, and the promises of Christ more sparingly and darkly propounded; shadowed with a multitude of types and figures, and so much more generally and obscurely delivered, as the manifesting of them was farther off.

82. The Old Testament is not contrary to the New; for both in the Old and New Testament everlasting life is offered to mankind by Christ, who is the only mediator between God and man, being both God and man; wherefore they are not to be heard, which feign that the old fathers did look only for transitory promises, for they looked for all the benefits of God the Father, through the merits of his son Jesus Christ, as we now do; only they believed in Christ which should come, we in Christ already come.

83. The New Testament is full of grace and truth, bringing joyful tidings unto mankind, that whatsoever formerly was promised of Christ is now accomplished; and so instead of the ancient types and ceremonies exhibiteth the things themselves, with a large and clear declaration of all the benefits of the gospel. Neither is the ministry thereof restrained any longer to one circumcised nation, but is indifferently propounded unto all people, whether they be Jews or Gentiles; so that there is now no nation, which can truly complain that they be shut forth from the communion of saints, and the liberties of the people of God.

84. Although the law given from God by Moses, as touching ceremonies and rites, be abolished, and the civil precepts thereof be not of necessity to be received in any commonwealth; yet notwithstanding, no Christian man whatsoever is freed from the obedience of the commandments which are called moral.

Of the Sacraments of the New Testament.

85. The sacraments ordained by Christ are not only badges or tokens of Christian men's profession, but rather

certain sure witnesses, and effectual or powerful signs, of grace and God's good-will towards us, by which he doth work invisibly in us, and not only quicken, but also strengthen and confirm our faith in him.

86. There be two sacraments ordained of Christ our Lord in the gospel, that is to say, baptism and the Lord's supper.

87. Those five which by the church of Rome are called sacraments, to wit, confirmation, penance, orders, matrimony, and extreme unction, are not to be accounted sacraments of the gospel, being such as have partly grown from corrupt imitation of the apostles, partly are states of life allowed in the Scriptures, but yet have not like nature of sacraments with baptism and the Lord's supper, for that they have not any visible sign or ceremony ordained of God, together with a promise of saving grace annexed thereunto.

88. The sacraments were not ordained of Christ to be gazed upon, or to be carried about, but that we should duly use them. And in such only as worthily receive the same, they have a wholesome effect and operation; but they that receive them unworthily, thereby draw judgment upon themselves.

Of Baptism.

89. Baptism is not only an outward sign of our profession, and a note of difference, whereby Christians are discerned from such as are no Christians; but much more, a sacrament of our admission into the church, sealing unto us our new birth (and consequently our justification, adoption, and sanctification) by the communion which we have with Jesus Christ.

90. The baptism of infants is to be retained in the church as agreeable to the word of God.

91. In the administration of baptism, exorcism, oil, salt, spittle, and superstitious hallowing of the water, are for just causes abolished; and without them the sacrament is fully and perfectly administered to all intents and purposes, agreeable to the institution of our Saviour Christ.

Of the Lord's Supper.

92. The Lord's supper is not only a sign of the mutual

love which Christians ought to bear one towards another, but much more, a sacrament of our preservation in the church, sealing unto us our spiritual nourishment, and continual growth in Christ.

93. The change of the substance of bread and wine into the substance of the body and blood of Christ, commonly called transubstantiation, cannot be proved by holy writ, but is repugnant to plain testimonies of the Scripture, overthroweth the nature of a sacrament, and hath given occasion to most gross idolatry and manifold superstitions.

94. In the outward part of the holy communion, the body and blood of Christ is in a most lively manner represented, being no otherwise present with the visible elements than things signified and sealed are present with the signs and seals; that is to say, symbolically and relatively. But in the inward and spiritual part, the same body and blood is really and substantially presented unto all those who have grace to receive the Son of God, even to all those that believe in his name. And unto such as in this manner do worthily and with faith repair unto the Lord's table, the body and blood of Christ is not only signified and offered, but also truly exhibited and communicated.

95. The body of Christ is given, taken, and eaten, in the Lord's supper, only after a heavenly and spiritual manner; and the mean whereby the body of Christ is thus received and eaten, is faith.

96. The wicked, and such as want a lively faith, although they do carnally and visibly, as St. Augustine speaketh, press with their teeth the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, yet in no wise are they made partakers of Christ, but rather to their condemnation do eat and drink the sign or sacrament of so great a thing.

97. Both the parts of the Lord's sacrament, according to Christ's institution, and the practice of the ancient church, ought to be ministered unto all God's people; and it is plain sacrilege to rob them of the mystical cup, for whom Christ hath shed his most precious blood.

98. The sacrament of the Lord's supper was not by Christ's ordinance reserved, carried about, lifted up, or worshipped.

99. The sacrifice of the mass, wherein the priest is said

to offer up Christ for obtaining the remission of pain or guilt for the quick and the dead, is neither agreeable to Christ's ordinance, nor grounded upon doctrine apostolic: but contrariwise most ungodly, and most injurious to that all-sufficient sacrifice of our Saviour Christ, offered once for ever upon the cross, which is the only propitiation and satisfaction for all our sins.

100. Private mass, that is, the receiving the eucharist by the priest alone, without a competent number of communicants, is contrary to the institution of Christ.

Of the State of the Souls of Men, after they be departed out of this Life, together with the general Resurrection and the last Judgment.

101. After this life is ended, the souls of God's children are presently received into heaven, there to enjoy unspeakable comforts; the souls of the wicked are cast into hell, there to endure endless torments.

102. The doctrine of the church of Rome concerning *limbus patrum, limbus puerorum,* purgatory, prayer for the dead, pardons, adoration of images and relics, and also invocation of saints, is vainly invented, without all warrant of Holy Scripture, yea, and is contrary to the same.

103. At the end of this world the Lord Jesus shall come in the clouds with the glory of his Father; at which time, by the almighty power of God, the living shall be changed, and the dead shall be raised, and all shall appear both in body and soul before his judgment-seat, to receive according to that which they have done in their bodies, whether good or evil.

104. When the last judgment is finished, Christ shall deliver up the kingdom to his Father, and God shall be all in all.

The Decree of the Synod.

If any minister, of what degree or quality soever he be, shall publicly teach any doctrine contrary to these articles agreed upon; if after due admonition he do not conform himself, and cease to disturb the peace of the church, let him be silenced, and deprived of all spiritual promotions he doth enjoy.

No. VII.

ARTICLES OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND,

Revised and altered by the assembly of divines at Westminster, in the year 1643, with Scripture references.

ARTICLE I.

Of Faith in the Holy Trinity.

THERE is but one[a] living and true God,[b] everlasting,[c] without body, parts,[d] or passions,[e] of infinite power,[f] wisdom,[g] and goodness;[h] the maker and preserver of all things, both visible and invisible.[i] And in unity of this Godhead there be three persons, of one substance, power, and eternity; the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.[k]

ARTICLE II.

Of the Word, or Son of God, which was made very Man.

The Son, which is the Word of the Father, begotten from everlasting of the Father,[l] the very[m] and eternal God,[n] of one substance[o] with

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[a] Isa. xlvi. 9. 1 Cor. viii. 4, 6. [b] Jer. x. 10. 1 Thes. i. 9. [c] Psal. xc. 2. Rom. xvi. 26. [d] Deut. iv. 15, 16. John iv. 24, with Luke xxiv. 39. [e] Acts xiv. 15. James i. 17. [f] Jer. xxxii. 17, 27. Mark x. 27. [g] Psal. cxlvii. 5. Rom. xi. 33. [h] Psal. cxix. 68, with Matt. xix. 17. [i] Neh. ix. 6. Col. i. 16, 17. [k] Matt. iii. 16, 17. xxviii. 19. 1 John iv. 7. 2 Cor. xiii. 14. [l] Prov. viii. 22—31. John i. 12. 14. [m] 1 John v. 20. Rom. ix. 5. [n] John xvii. 5. Heb. i. 8, with Psal. xlv. 6. [o] John x. 30. Heb. i. 3.

Articles revised.

the Father,[o] took man's nature in the womb of the blessed Virgin, of her substance;[p] so that two whole and perfect natures, that is to say, the Godhead and the manhood, were joined together in one person, never to be divided, whereof is one Christ, very God and very man,[q] who for our sakes truly suffered most grievous torments in his soul from God,[r] was crucified, dead, and buried,[s] to reconcile his Father to us,[t] and to be a sacrifice, not only for original guilt, but also for actual sins of men.[u]

ARTICLE III.

As Christ died for us, and was buried, so it is to be believed that he continued in the state of the dead, and under the power and dominion of death,[w] from the time of his death and burial until his resurrection;[x] which hath been otherwise expressed thus: he went down into hell.

ARTICLE IV.

Of the Resurrection of Christ.

Christ did truly rise again

Articles of the Church of England.

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ARTICLE III.

Of the going down of Christ into Hell.

As Christ died for us, and was buried: so also is it to be believed that he went down into hell.

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[o] John i. 14. Isa. vii. 14. Luke i. 35. Gal. iv. 4. [p] Isa. vii. 14, with Matt. i. 23. Rom. i. 3, 4. Heb. xiii. 8. [q] Isa. liii. 10, 11. Mark xiv. 33, 34. [r] 1 Pet. ii. 24. Phil. ii. 1. 1 Cor. xv. 3, 4. [s] Ezek. xvi. 6. Rom. iii. 25. 2 Cor. v. 18. [t] Isa. liii. 10. Eph. v. 2. 1 John i. 7. Heb. ix. 26. [u] Psal. xvi. 10, with Acts ii. 24—27. 31. [w] Rom. vi. 9. Matt. xii. 40. [x]

Articles revised.

from death,[y] and took again his body, with flesh, bones, and all things appertaining to the perfection of man's nature,[z] wherewith he ascended into heaven, and there[a] sitteth, until he return to judge[b] all men[c] at the general resurrection of the body at the last day.[d]

ARTICLE V.

Of the Holy Ghost.

The Holy Ghost is very and eternal God, of one substance,[e] majesty,[f] and glory, with the Father and the Son,[g] proceeding from the Father and the Son.[h]

ARTICLE VI.

Of the Sufficiency of the Holy Scriptures for Salvation.

Holy Scripture[i] containeth all things necessary to salvation,[k] so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be believed as an article of faith, or necessary to salvation.[l]

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Of the Sufficiency of the Holy Scriptures for Salvation.

Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation; so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man, that it should be believed as an ar-

[y] 1 Cor. xv. 4. Rom. viii. 34. Psal. xvi. 10, with Acts ii. 31. Luke xxiv. 34. [z] Luke xxiv. 39, with John xx. 25. 27. [a] Psal. lxviii. 18, with Eph. iv. 8. Psal. cx. 1, with Acts ii. 34, 35. Mark xix. 10. Rom. viii. 34. [b] Acts iii. 21. Psal. cx. 1, with 1 Cor. xv. 25, 26. Acts i. 11. [c] 2 Cor. v. 20. Acts xvii. 31. [d] Exod. iii. 6, with Luke xx. 37, 38. Acts xxiv. 14, 15. 1 Cor. xv. 12, to the end. John v. 28, 29. [e] 2 Sam. xxiii. 2, 3. Isa. vi. 3. 8, with Acts xxviii. 25, and v. 3, 4. 1 Cor. iii. 16, and vi. 19. [f] Job xxvi. 13. 33, 34. 1 Cor. xii. Matt. xxviii. 19. 2 Cor. xiii. 14. [g] 1 Cor. xii. 11. Eph. i. 17, and 1 Cor. ii. 8, with 1 Pet. iv. 14. [h] John xv. 26, and Matt. x. 20, and 1 Cor. ii. 11, 12, with Gal. iv. 6, and Rom. viii. 9, and Phil. i. 9. [i] John xvi. 14. Isa. xi. 2. Isa. lxi. 1. Gen. i. 2. 2 Chron. xv. 1. [k] Rom. i. 2. 2 Tim. iii. 15. 2 Pet. i. 20, 21. Psal. xix. 7. 2 Tim. iii. 15—17. James i. 21. 25. Acts xx. 32. [l] Prov. xxx. 5, 6. Isa. viii. 20. Acts xxvi. 22, with ver. 20. 27. Gal. i. 8, 9. John v. 39.

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By the name of Holy Scripture we understand all the canonical Books of the Old and New Testament which follow:

Of the Old Testament.

Genesis, Exodus, &c.

Of the New Testament.

The Gospel of St. Matthew, &c.

All which books, as they are commonly received, we do receive, and acknowledge them to be given by the inspiration of God; and in that regard, to be of most certain credit, and highest authority.

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ticle of the faith, or be thought requisite or necessary to salvation. In the name of the Holy Scripture, we do understand those canonical books of the Old and New Testament, of whose authority was never any doubt in the church.

Of the Names and Number of the Canonical Books.

Genesis, Leviticus,
Exodus, Numbers, &c.

And the other books, as Hierome saith, the church doth read for example of life and instruction of manners; but yet doth it not apply them to establish any doctrine: such are these following,

Third of Esdras, Book of Tobias, Fourth of Esdras, Judith, &c.

All the books of the New Testament, as they are commonly received, we do receive, and account them for canonical.

ARTICLE VII.

Of the Old Testament.

The Old Testament is not contrary to the New, in the doctrine contained in them;[m] for both in the Old and New

ARTICLE VII.

Of the Old Testament.

The Old Testament is not contrary to the New; for both in the Old and New Testament, everlasting life

[m] Acts xxvi. 21. 23. 2 Pet. iii. 2. Luke xxiv. 44. Rom. iii. 31. Gal. iii. 21. 23, 24.

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Testament, everlasting life is offered to mankind by Christ,[n] who is the only mediator between God and man,[o] being both God and man.[p] Wherefore they are not to be heard which feign, that the old fathers did look only for temporary promises.[q]

Although the law given from God by Moses, as touching ceremonies and rites, do not bind Christians;[r] nor the civil precepts given by Moses, such as were peculiarly fitted to the commonwealth of the Jews, are of necessity to be received in any commonwealth;[s] yet notwithstanding, no Christian man whatsoever is free from the obedience of the commandments which are called moral.[t] By the moral law, we understand all the ten commandments taken in their full extent.

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is offered to mankind by Christ, who is the only mediator between God and man, being both God and man. Wherefore they are not to be heard which feign, that the old fathers did look only for transitory promises. Although the law given from God by Moses, as touching ceremonies and rites, do not bind Christian men; nor the civil precepts thereof ought of necessity to be received in any commonwealth; yet notwithstanding, no Christian man whatsoever is free from the obedience of the commandments which are called moral.

ARTICLE VIII.

Of the three Creeds.

The three creeds, Nice creed, Athanasius' creed, and

[n] Gen. iii. 15. xxii. 18, with Gal. iii. 8. 14. 1 Cor. x. 2—4. Luke i. 69, 70. Acts iii. 24. Isa. liii. [o] Dan. ix. 17. Rom. viii. 34. 1 John ii. 1. Heb. vii. 25. 1 Tim. ii. 5. John xiv. 6. [p] Gal. iv. 4, 5. Acts xx. 28. Phil. ii. 7. 8. [q] Acts xxvi. 6, 7. Rom. iv. 11. Gal. iii. 9. Heb. xi. 10. 16. 35. [r] Gal. iv. 9, 10. Col. ii. 14. 16, 17. Heb. ix. 9, 10. [s] Acts xxv. 9, 10. 25, with Deut. xvii. 8—13. Rom. xiii. 1. 5. Tit. iii. 1. 1 Pet. ii. 13, 14. [t] Matt. v. 17, to the end. Rom. xiii. 8—10. Eph. vi. 1—3. James ii. 8—12. Rom. vii. 25. iii. 31. Matt. vii. 12.

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that which is commonly called the Apostles' creed, ought thoroughly to be received and believed; for they may be proved by most certain warrants of holy writ.

ARTICLE IX.

Of Original or Birth Sin.

Original sin[u] standeth not in the following of Adam, as the Pelagians do vainly talk;[w] but together with his first sin imputed, it is the fault and corruption of the nature of every man that naturally is propagated from Adam;[x] whereby man is wholly deprived of original righteousness,[y] and is of his own nature inclined only to evil.[z] So that the lust of the flesh, called in Greek *φρόνημα σαρκὸς*, which some do expound the wisdom, some sensuality, some the affection, some the desire of the flesh, is not subject to the law of God;[a] and therefore in every person born into this world it deserveth God's wrath and damnation.[b] And this infection of nature doth remain, yea, in them that are regenerate,[c] whereby the flesh lusteth always contrary

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ARTICLE IX.

Of Original or Birth of Sin.

Original sin standeth not in the following of Adam, as the Pelagians do vainly talk, but it is the fault and corruption of the nature of every man that naturally is engendered of the offspring of Adam, whereby man is very far gone from original righteousness, and is of his own nature inclined to evil, so that the flesh lusteth always contrary to the Spirit, and therefore in every person born into this world, it deserveth God's wrath and damnation. And this infection of nature doth remain, yea in them that are regenerated, whereby the lust of the flesh, called in Greek *φρόνημα σαρκὸς*, which some do expound the wisdom, some sensuality, some the affection, some the desire of the flesh, is not subject to the law of God. And al-

[u] Psal. li. 5. John iii. 5, 6. [w] Job xiv. 4. xv. 14. Rom. vi. 6. John iii. 3. 5. 7. [x] Rom. v. 12—19. Gen. ii. 17, with 1 Cor. xv. 22. [y] Col. ii. 13. Rom. vii. 18. Eccl. vii. 29. [z] Gen. vi. 5. viii. 21. Jer. xvii. 9. Rom. vii. 8. James i. 14. [a] Rom. viii. 7. 1 Cor. ii. 14. Col. i. 21. [b] Eph. ii. 3. Rom. viii. 6, 7. [c] Prov. xx. 9. Rom. vii. 17. 20. 23. 25.

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to the Spirit.[d] And although there is no condemnation for them that are regenerate, and do believe,[e] yet the apostle doth confess, that concupiscence and lust is truly and properly sin.[f]

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though there is no condemnation for them that believe and are baptized, yet the apostle doth confess, that concupiscence and lust hath of itself the nature of sin.

ARTICLE X.

Of Free Will.

The condition of man after the fall of Adam is such, that he cannot turn or prepare himself, by his own natural strength and good works, to faith and calling upon God;[g] wherefore we have no power to do good works pleasing and acceptable to God,[h] without the grace of God by Christ, both preventing us, that we may have a good will, and working so effectually in us, as that it determineth our will to that which is good,[i] and also working with us when we have that will unto good.[k]

ARTICLE X.

Of Free Will.

The condition of man after the fall of Adam is such, that he cannot turn and prepare himself by his own natural strength and good works, to faith and calling upon God. Wherefore we have no power to good works pleasant and acceptable to God, without the grace of God by Christ preventing us, that we may have a good-will, and working with us, when we have that good-will.

ARTICLE XI.

Of the Justification of Man before God.

We are justified, that is, we are accounted righteous

ARTICLE XI.

Of the Justification of Man.

We are accounted righteous before God, only for

[d] Gal. v. 17. [e] Rom. viii. 1. 13. John iii. 13. [f] Rom. viii. 17, 20. [g] Eph. ii. 1. 5. 1 Cor. ii. 14. Eph. ii. 8—10. John vi. 44. 65. [h] Rom. viii. 8. Heb. xi. 6. [i] Ezek. xi. 19, 20. xxxvi. 26, 27. Jer. xxxi. 32, 33, with Heb. x. 11. Phil. ii. 12, 13. John vi. 45. Eph. i. 19, 20. 1 Cor. iv. 7. [k] Heb. xiii. 21. Phil. viii. 1. 6. Heb. xii. 22. 1 Pet. v. 10. 1 Thes. v. 23, 24. 1 Kings viii. 57, 58.

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before God, and have remission of sins,[l] not for nor by our own works or deservings,[m] but freely by his grace,[n] only for our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ's sake,[o] his whole obedience and satisfaction being by God imputed unto us,[p] and Christ with his righteousness, being apprehended and rested on by faith only.[q] The doctrine of justification by faith only, is a wholesome doctrine, and very full of comfort,[r] notwithstanding God doth not forgive them that are impenitent, and go on still in their trespasses.[s]

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the merit of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, by faith, and not for our own works or deservings. Wherefore, that we are justified by faith only, is a most wholesome doctrine, and very full of comfort, as more largely expressed in the homily of justification.

ARTICLE XII.

Of Good Works.

Good works, which are the fruits of faith,[t] and follow after justification,[u] cannot put away our sins,[w] and endure the severity of God's judgment;[x] yet are they, notwithstanding their imperfections, in the sight of God pleasing and acceptable unto him in and for Christ,[y] and

ARTICLE XII.

Of Good Works.

Albeit that good works, which are the fruits of faith, and follow after justification, cannot put away our sins, and endure the severity of God's judgment, yet are they pleasing and acceptable to God in Christ, and do spring out necessarily of a true and lively faith, insomuch

[l] Rom. iv. 5—7. Psal. xxxii. 1, 2. Phil. iii. 9. [m] Rom. iii. 20. Gal. ii. 16. iii. 10, 11. [n] Rom. iii. 24. Tit. iii. 7. [o] Rom. iii. 24, 25. v. 1. 2 Cor. v. 18, 19. [p] Rom. v. 9. 17—19. iii. 25, 26. iv. 6. 24. 2 Cor. v. 21. [q] Rom. iii. 22. 25, 26. 28. Gal. ii. 16. Isa. xxviii. 16, with Rom. ix. 33, and 1 Pet. ii. 6. Phil. iii. 9. [r] 2 Tim. i. 13. Rom. v. 1, 2. 8. 11. xv. 13. 1 Pet. i. 8. [s] Psal. lxviii. 20, 21. Exod. xxxiv. 6, 7. Luke xiii. 3. 5. [t] Gal. v. 6. James ii. 17, 18. 22. [u] Tit. ii. 14. iii. 7, 8. Eph. ii. 8, 9. 18. [w] Rom. iii. 20, 21. iv. 4—9. Dan. ix. 18, 19. [x] Neh. xiii. 22. Psal. cxliii. 2. Job ix. 14, 15. 19, 20. Exod. xxviii. 38. Rev. viii. 3, 4. [y] 1 Pet. ii. 5. Heb. xiii. 16. 20, 21. Col. i. 10. Phil. iv. 18.

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do spring out necessarily of a true and lively faith,[z] insomuch that by them a lively faith may be evidently known, as a tree discerned by the fruits.[a]	that by them a lively faith may be as evidently known as a tree discerned by the fruit.
ARTICLE XIII.	ARTICLE XIII.
Of Works before Justification.	*Of Works before Justification.*
Works done before justification by Christ, and regeneration by his Spirit, are not pleasing unto God,[b] forasmuch as they spring not of faith in Jesus Christ:[c] neither do they make men meet to receive grace, or (as the school authors say) deserve grace of congruity; yea, rather, for that they are not done as God hath willed and commanded them to be done, they are sinful.[d]	Works done before the grace of Christ, and the inspiration of his Spirit, are not pleasant to God, forasmuch as they spring not of faith in Jesus Christ, neither do they make men meet to receive grace, or (as the school authors say) deserve grace of congruity; yea, rather, for that they are not done as God hath willed and commanded them to be done, we doubt not but they have the nature of sin.
ARTICLE XIV.	ARTICLE XIV.
Of Works of Supererogation.	*Of Works of Supererogation.*
Voluntary works, besides over and above God's commandments, which they call works of supererogation, cannot be taught[f] without	Voluntary works, besides over and above God's commandments, which they call works of supererogation, cannot be taught without

[z] James ii. 16. 1 John i. 4. [a] James ii. 18, 19. John xv. 4. 5. 1 John ii. 3. 5. Matt. xii. 33. [b] Tit. i. 15, 16. Matt. vii. 18. Rom. viii. 8. Prov. xv. 8. 26. xxi. 27. Rom. iii. 19. [c] Heb. xi. 5, 6. Gal. v. 6. [d] 2 Tim. i. 9. John i. 13. Rom. viii. 7, 8. Hag. ii. 14. Isa. lviii. 1—5. lxvi. 2, 3. [f] Matt. v. 46. Mark xii. 30, 31. Phil. iv. 8, 9.

Articles revised.	*Articles of the Church of England.*
arrogancy and impiety ;[g] for by them men do declare, that they do not only render unto God as much as they are bound to do; but that they do more for his sake than of bounden duty is required; whereas Christ saith plainly, "When ye have done all those things that are commanded you, say, We are unprofitable servants, we have done that which was our duty to do."[h]	arrogancy and impiety. For by them men do declare, that they do not only render unto God, as much as they are bound to do, but that they do more for his sake than of bounden duty is required; whereas Christ saith plainly, "When ye have done all that are commanded to you, say, We are unprofitable servants."
ARTICLE XV.	ARTICLE XV.
Of Christ alone without Sin.	*Of Christ alone without Sin.*
Christ in the truth of our nature was made like unto us in all things, sin only excepted,[i] from which he was clearly void both in his flesh and in his spirit:[k] he came to be the Lamb without spot,[l] who by sacrifice of himself[m] once made,[n] should take away the sins of the world;[o] and sin (as St. John saith) was not in him.[p] But all we the rest, although baptized and regenerate, yet offend in many things; and "if we say we have no sin, we deceive	Christ in the truth of our nature was made like unto us in all things, sin only except, from which he was clearly void, both in his flesh and in his spirit. He came to be a Lamb without spot, who by sacrifice of himself once made, should take away the sins of the world; and sin (as St. John saith) was not in him. But all the rest (although baptized, and born again in Christ) yet offend in many things; and "if we say we have no sin, we deceive

[g] Job ix. 2, 3. 20, 21. Psal. cxliii. 2. Prov. xx. 9. Phil. iii. 8—15.
[h] Luke xvii. 10, with ver. 7—9. [i] Isa. liii. 3—5. Heb. ii. 17, with v. 15. [k] Luke i. 35, with Acts iii. 14. John xiv. 30. 2 Cor. v. 21. Heb. vii. 26.
[l] 1 Pet. i. 19. [m] Eph. v. 2. [n] Heb. ix. 26. 28. x. 10. 12. [o] John i. 29.
[p] 1 John iii. 5.

ourselves, and the truth is not in us."[q]

ourselves, and the truth is not in us."

Charles Herle, prolocutor.
Henry Roborough, scribe.
Adoniram Byfield, scribe.

N. B. The assembly proceeded no farther in the revisal.

No. VIII.

THE DIRECTORY FOR THE PUBLIC WORSHIP OF GOD

Agreed upon by the Assembly of Divines at Westminster; examined and approved, Anno 1654, *by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland; and ratified by Act of Parliament the same Year.*

THE PREFACE.

In the beginning of the blessed Reformation, our wise and pious ancestors took care to set forth an order for redress of many things, which they then by the word discovered to be vain, erroneous, superstitious, and idolatrous, in the public worship of God. This occasioned many godly and learned men to rejoice much in the Book of Common Prayer, at that time set forth; because the mass, and the rest of the Latin service, being removed, the public worship was celebrated in our own tongue; many of the common people also received benefit by hearing the Scriptures read in their own language, which formerly were unto them as a book that is sealed.

Howbeit, long and sad experience hath made it manifest, that the liturgy used in the church of England (notwithstanding all the pains and religious intentions of the compilers of it) hath proved an offence, not only to many of the godly at home, but also to the reformed churches abroad. For not to speak of urging the reading of all the prayers, which very greatly increased the burden of it: the many unprofitable and burdensome ceremonies contained in it, have occasioned much mischief, as well by disquieting the consciences of many godly ministers and people, who could not yield unto them, as by depriving them of the or-

[q] James iii. 2. 1 John i. 8. 10.

dinances of God, which they might not enjoy without conforming or subscribing to those ceremonies. Sundry good Christians have been, by means thereof, kept from the Lord's table, and divers able and faithful ministers debarred from the exercise of their ministry (to the endangering of many thousand souls, in a time of such scarcity of faithful pastors), and spoiled of their livelihood, to the undoing of them and their families. Prelates and their faction have laboured to raise the estimation of it to such a height, as if there were no other worship or way of worship of God amongst us, but only the service-book; to the great hinderance of the preaching of the word, and (in some places, especially of late) to the justling of it out, as unnecessary, or, at best, as far inferior to the reading of common prayer, which was made no better than an idol by many ignorant and superstitious people, who, pleasing themselves in their presence at that service, and their lip-labour in bearing a part in it, have thereby hardened themselves in their ignorance and carelessness of saving knowledge and true piety.

In the mean time, Papists boasted, that the book was a compliance with them in a great part of their service; and so were not a little confirmed in their superstition and idolatry, expecting rather our return to them, than endeavouring the reformation of themselves: in which expectation they were of late very much encouraged, when, upon the pretended warrantableness of imposing the former ceremonies, new ones were daily obtruded upon the church.

Add hereunto (which was not foreseen, but since hath come to pass), that the liturgy hath been a great means, as on the one hand to make and increase an idle and unedifying ministry, which contented itself with set forms made to their hands by others, without putting forth themselves to exercise the gift of prayer, with which our Lord Jesus Christ pleaseth to furnish all his servants, whom he calls to that office: so on the other side it hath been (and ever would be, if continued) a matter of endless strife and contention in the church, and a snare both to many godly and faithful ministers, who have been persecuted and silenced upon that occasion, and to others of hopeful parts, many of which have been, and more still would be, diverted from all thoughts of the ministry to other studies; especially in these later times, wherein God vouchsafeth to his people

more and better means for the discovery of error and superstition, and for attaining of knowledge in the mysteries of godliness, and gifts in preaching and prayer.

Upon these, and many the like weighty considerations, in reference to the whole book in general, and because of divers particulars contained in it; not from any love to novelty, or intention to disparage our first reformers (of whom we are persuaded, that, were they now alive, they would join with us in this work, and whom we acknowledge as excellent instruments, raised by God, to begin the purging and building of his house, and desire they may be had of us and posterity in everlasting remembrance, with thankfulness and honour), but that we may, in some measure, answer the gracious providence of God, which at this time calleth upon us for farther reformation, and may satisfy our own consciences, and answer the expectation of other reformed churches, and the desires of many of the godly among ourselves, and withal give some public testimony of our endeavours for uniformity in divine worship, which we have promised in our solemn league and covenant: we have, after earnest and frequent calling upon the name of God, and after much consultation, not with flesh and blood, but with his holy word, resolved to lay aside the former liturgy, with the many rites and ceremonies formerly used in the worship of God; and have agreed upon this following directory for all the parts of public worship, at ordinary and extraordinary times.

Wherein our care hath been, to hold forth such things as are of divine institution in every ordinance; and other things we have endeavoured to set forth according to the rules of Christian prudence, agreeable to the general rules of the word of God: our meaning therein being only, that the general heads, the sense and scope of the prayers, and other parts of public worship, being known to all, there may be a consent of all the churches, in those things that contain the substance of the service and worship of God; and the ministers may be hereby directed in their administrations, to keep like soundness in doctrine and prayer; and may, if need be, have some help and furniture; and yet so, as they become not hereby slothful and negligent, in stirring up the gifts of Christ in them; but that each one, by meditation, by taking heed to himself, and the flock of God committed

to him, and by wise observing the ways of Divine Providence, may be careful to furnish his heart and tongue with farther or other materials of prayer and of exhortation, as shall be needful upon all occasions.

Of the assembling of the Congregation, and their Behaviour in the Public Worship of God.

When the congregation is to meet for public worship, the people (having before prepared their hearts thereunto) ought all to come, and join therein; not absenting themselves from the public ordinances through negligence, or upon pretence of private meetings.

Let all enter the assembly, not irreverently, but in a grave and seemly manner, taking their seats or places without adoration, or bowing themselves towards one place or other.

The congregation being assembled, the minister, after solemn calling on them to the worshipping of the great name of God, is to begin with prayer.

"In all reverence and humility acknowledging the incomprehensible greatness and majesty of the Lord (in whose presence they do then in a special manner appear), and their own vileness and unworthiness to approach so near him, with their utter inability of themselves to so great a work; and humbly beseeching him for pardon, assistance, and acceptance, in the whole service then to be performed; and for a blessing on that particular portion of his word then to be read: and all in the name and mediation of the Lord Jesus Christ."

The public worship being begun, the people are wholly to attend upon it, forbearing to read any thing, except what the minister is then reading or citing: and abstaining much more from all private whisperings, conferences, salutations, or doing reverence to any persons present, or coming in; as also from all gazing, sleeping, and other indecent behaviour, which may disturb the minister or people, or hinder themselves and others in the service of God.

If any, through necessity, be hindered from being present at the beginning, they ought not, when they come into the congregation, to betake themselves to their private devotions, but reverently to compose themselves to join with

the assembly, in that ordinance of God which is then in hand.

Of Public Reading of the Holy Scriptures.

Reading of the word in the congregation, being part of the public worship of God (wherein we acknowledge our dependance upon him, and subjection to him), and one means sanctified by him for the edifying of his people, is to be performed by the pastors and teachers.

Howbeit, such as intend the ministry, may occasionally both read the word, and exercise their gift in preaching in the congregation, if allowed by the presbytery thereunto.

All the canonical books of the Old and New Testament (but none of those which are commonly called Apocrypha) shall be publicly read in the vulgar tongue, out of the best allowed translation, distinctly, that all may hear and understand.

How large a portion shall be read at once, is left to the wisdom of the minister; but it is convenient, that ordinarily one chapter of each Testament be read at every meeting; and sometimes more, where the chapters be short, or the coherence of matter requireth it.

It is requisite that all the canonical books be read over in order, that the people may be better acquainted with the whole body of the Scriptures; and, ordinarily, where the reading in either Testament endeth on one Lord's day, it is to begin the next.

We commend also the more frequent reading of such scriptures, as he that readeth shall think best for edification of his hearers, as the book of Psalms, and such-like.

When the minister who readeth shall judge it necessary to expound any part of what is read, let it not be done until the whole chapter or psalm be ended; and regard is always to be had unto the time, that neither preaching, nor other ordinances, be straitened, or rendered tedious. Which rule is to be observed in all other public performances.

Beside public reading of the Holy Scriptures, every person that can read is to be exhorted to read the Scriptures privately (and all others that cannot read, if not disabled by age, or otherwise, are likewise to be exhorted to learn to read), and to have a Bible.

Of Public Prayer before the Sermon.

After reading of the word (and singing of the psalm), the minister who is to preach, is to endeavour to get his own and his hearers' hearts to be rightly affected with their sins, that they may all mourn in sense thereof before the Lord, and hunger and thirst after the grace of God in Jesus Christ, by proceeding to a more full confession of sin, with shame and holy confusion of face, and to call upon the Lord to this effect:

"To acknowledge our great sinfulness; first, by reason of original sin, which (beside the guilt that makes us liable to everlasting damnation) is the seed of all other sins, hath depraved and poisoned all the faculties and powers of soul and body, doth defile our best actions, and (were it not restrained, or our hearts renewed by grace) would break forth into innumerable transgressions, and greatest rebellions against the Lord, that ever were committed by the vilest of the sons of men. And, next, by reason of actual sins, our own sins, the sins of magistrates, of ministers, and of the whole nation, unto which we are many ways accessory; which sins of ours receive many fearful aggravations, we having broken all the commandments of the holy, just, and good law of God, doing that which is forbidden, and leaving undone what is enjoined; and that not only out of ignorance and infirmity, but also more presumptuously, against the light of our minds, checks of our consciences, and motions of his own Holy Spirit, to the contrary, so that we have no cloak for our sins; yea, not only despising the riches of God's goodness, forbearance, and long-suffering, but standing out against many invitations and offers of grace in the gospel; not endeavouring as we ought, to receive Christ into our hearts by faith, or to walk worthy of him in our lives.

"To bewail our blindness of mind, hardness of heart, unbelief, impenitency, security, lukewarmness, barrenness; our not endeavouring after mortification and newness of life, nor after the exercise of godliness in the power thereof: and that the best of us have not so steadfastly walked with God, kept our garments so unspotted, nor been so zealous of his glory, and the good of others, as we ought: and to mourn over such other sins as the congregation is particu-

larly guilty of, notwithstanding the manifold and great mercies of our God, the love of Christ, the light of the gospel, and reformation of religion, our own purposes, promises, vows, solemn covenant, and other special obligations, to the contrary.

"To acknowledge and confess, that, as we are convinced of our guilt, so, out of a deep sense thereof, we judge ourselves unworthy of the smallest benefits, most worthy of God's fiercest wrath, and of all the curses of the law, and heaviest judgments inflicted upon the most rebellious sinners; and that he might most justly take his kingdom and gospel from us, plague us with all sorts of spiritual and temporal judgments in this life, and after cast us into utter darkness, in the lake that burneth with fire and brimstone, where is weeping and gnashing of teeth for evermore.

"Notwithstanding all which, to draw near to the throne of grace, encouraging ourselves with hope of a gracious answer of our prayers, in the riches and all-sufficiency of that one only oblation, the satisfaction and intercession of the Lord Jesus Christ, at the right hand of his Father, and our Father; and in confidence of the exceeding great and precious promises of mercy and grace in the new covenant, through the same Mediator thereof, to deprecate the heavy wrath and curse of God, which we are not able to avoid or bear; and humbly and earnestly to supplicate for mercy, in the free and full remission of all our sins; and that only for the bitter sufferings and precious merits of our only Saviour Jesus Christ.

"That the Lord would vouchsafe to shed abroad his love in our hearts by the Holy Ghost; seal unto us, by the same Spirit of adoption, the full assurance of our pardon and reconciliation; comfort all that mourn in Zion, speak peace to the wounded and troubled spirit, and bind up the broken-hearted: and as for secure and presumptuous sinners, that he would open their eyes, convince their consciences, and turn them from darkness unto light, and from the power of Satan unto God, that they also may receive forgiveness of sin, and an inheritance among them that are sanctified by faith in Christ Jesus.

"With remission of sins through the blood of Christ, to pray for sanctification by his Spirit; the mortification of sin dwelling in, and many times tyrannizing over, us; the quick-

ening of our dead spirits, with the life of God in Christ; grace to fit and enable us for all duties of conversation and calling towards God and men; strength against temptations, the sanctified use of blessings and crosses, and perseverance in faith and obedience unto the end.

"To pray for the propagation of the gospel and kingdom of Christ to all nations, for the conversion of the Jews, the fulness of the Gentiles, the fall of antichrist, and the hastening of the second coming of our Lord: for the deliverance of the distressed churches abroad from the tyranny of the antichristian faction, and from the cruel oppressions and blasphemies of the Turk; for the blessing of God upon all the reformed churches, especially upon the churches and kingdoms of Scotland, England, and Ireland, now more strictly and religiously united in the solemn national league and covenant; and for our plantations in the most remote parts of the world: more particularly for that church and kingdom whereof we are members, that therein God would establish peace and truth, the purity of all his ordinances, and the power of godliness; prevent and remove heresy, schism, profaneness, superstition, security, and unfruitfulness, under the means of grace; heal all our rents and divisions, and preserve us from breach of our solemn covenant.

"To pray for all in authority, especially for the king's majesty, that God would make him rich in blessings, both in his person and government; establish his throne in religion and righteousness, save him from evil counsel, and make him a blessed and glorious instrument, for the conservation and propagation of the gospel, for the encouragement and protection of them that do well, the terror of all that do evil, and the great good of the whole church, and of all his kingdoms; for the conversion of the queen, the religious education of the prince, and the rest of the royal seed; for the comforting the afflicted queen of Bohemia, sister to our sovereign: and for the restitution and establishment of the illustrious prince Charles, elector palatine of the Rhine, to all his dominions and dignities; for a blessing on our high court of parliament (when sitting in any of these kingdoms respectively), the nobility, the subordinate judges and magistrates, the gentry, and all the commonalty; for all pastors and teachers, that God would fill them with his Spirit, make them exemplarily holy, so-

ber, just, peaceable, and gracious, in their lives; sound, faithful, and powerful, in their ministry; and follow all their labours with abundance of success and blessing; and give unto all his people pastors according to his own heart; for the universities, and all schools and religious seminaries of church and commonwealth, that they may flourish more and more *in learning* and piety; for the particular city or congregation, that God *would pour out* a blessing upon the ministry of the word, sacraments, and discipline, upon the civil government, and all the several families and persons therein; for mercy to the afflicted under any inward or outward distress. For seasonable weather, and fruitful seasons, as the time may require; for averting the judgments that we either feel, or fear, or are liable unto, as famine, pestilence, the sword, and such-like.

"*And, with confidence of his mercy to his whole church,* and the acceptance of our persons, through the merits and mediation of our high priest the Lord Jesus, to profess that it is the desire of our souls to have fellowship with God, in the reverend and conscionable use of his holy ordinances; and to *that purpose, to pray earnestly for his grace and effectual assistance to the sanctification of his* holy sabbath, the Lord's day, in all the duties thereof, public and private, both to ourselves, and to all other congregations of his people, according to the riches and excellency of the gospel, this day celebrated and enjoyed.

"And because we have been unprofitable hearers in times past, and now cannot of ourselves receive, as we should, the deep things of God, the mysteries of Jesus Christ, which require a spiritual discerning; to pray that the Lord, who teacheth to profit, would graciously please to pour out the Spirit of grace, together with the outward means thereof, causing us to attain such a measure of the excellency of the knowledge of Christ Jesus our Lord, and in him, of the things which belong to our peace, that we may account all things but as dross in comparison of him: and that we, tasting the first-fruits of the glory that is to be revealed, may long for a more full and perfect communion with him, that where he is, we may be also, and enjoy the fulness of those joys and pleasures which are at his right hand for evermore.

"More particularly, that God would in special manner furnish his servant (now called to dispense the bread of life unto his household) with wisdom, fidelity, zeal, and utterance, that he may divide the word of God aright, to every one his portion, in evidence and demonstration of the Spirit and power: and that the Lord would circumcise the ears and hearts of the hearers, to hear, love, and receive with meekness, the ingrafted word, which is able to save their souls; make them as good ground to receive in the good seed of the word, and strengthen them against the temptations of Satan, the cares of the world, the hardness of their own hearts, and whatsoever else may hinder their profitable and *saving* hearing; that *so* Christ may be so formed in them, and live in them, that all their thoughts may be brought into captivity to the obedience of Christ, and their hearts established in every good word and work for ever."

We judge this to be a convenient order, in the ordinary public prayers; yet so, as the minister may defer (as in prudence he shall think meet) some part of these petitions, till after his sermon, or offer up to God some of the thanksgivings hereafter appointed, in his prayer before his sermon.

Of the Preaching of the Word.

Preaching of the word being the power of God unto salvation, and one of the greatest and most excellent works belonging to the ministry of the gospel, should be so performed, that the workman need not be ashamed, but may save himself, and those that hear him.

It is presupposed (according to the rules for ordination), that the minister of Christ is in some good measure gifted for so weighty a service, by his skill in the original languages, and in such arts and sciences as are handmaids unto divinity; by his knowledge in the whole body of theology, but most of all in the Holy Scriptures, having his senses and heart exercised in them above the common sort of believers; and by the illumination of God's Spirit, and other gifts of edification, which (together with reading and studying of the word) he ought still to seek by prayer, and an humble heart, resolving to admit and receive any truth not yet attained, whenever God shall make it known unto him. All which he is to make use of, and improve in his private

preparations, before he deliver in public what he hath provided.

Ordinarily, the subject of his sermon is to be some text of Scripture, holding forth some principle or head of religion, or suitable to some special occasion emergent; or he may go on in some chapter, psalm, or book of the Holy Scripture, as he shall see fit.

Let the introduction to his text be brief and perspicuous, drawn from the text itself, or context, or some parallel place, or general sentence of Scripture.

If the text be long (as in histories and parables it sometimes must be), let him give a brief sum of it; if short, a paraphrase thereof, if need be: in both, looking diligently to the scope of the text, and pointing at the chief heads and grounds of doctrine which he is to raise from it.

In analysing and dividing his text, he is to regard more the order of matter, than of words; and neither to burden the memory of the hearers in the beginning with too many members of division, nor to trouble their minds with obscure terms of art.

In raising doctrines from the text, his care ought to be, first, that the matter be the truth of God. Secondly, that it be a truth contained in or grounded on that text, that the hearers may discern how God teacheth it from thence. Thirdly, that he chiefly insist upon those doctrines which are principally intended, and make most for the edification of the hearers.

The doctrine is to be expressed in plain terms; or, if any thing in it need explication, it is to be opened, and the consequence also from the text cleared. The parallel places of Scripture, confirming the doctrine, are rather to be plain and pertinent, than many, and (if need be), somewhat insisted upon, and applied to the purpose in hand.

The arguments and reasons are to be solid; and, as much as may be, convincing. The illustrations, of what kind soever, ought to be full of light, and such as may convey the truth into the hearer's heart with spiritual delight.

If any doubt, obvious from Scripture, reason, or prejudice of the hearers, seem to arise, it is very requisite to remove it, by reconciling the seeming differences, answering the reasons, and discovering and taking away the causes of prejudice and mistake. Otherwise, it is not fit to detain the

hearers with propounding or answering with vain or wicked cavils, which as they are endless, so the propounding and answering of them doth more hinder than promote edification.

He is not to rest in general doctrine, although never so much cleared and confirmed, but to bring it home to special use, by application to his hearers; which albeit it prove a work of great difficulty to himself, requiring much prudence, zeal, and meditation, and to the natural and corrupt man will be very unpleasant; yet he is to endeavour to perform it in such a manner, that his auditors may feel the word of God to be quick and powerful, and a discerner of the thoughts and intents of the heart; and that, if any believer or ignorant person be present, he may have the secrets of his heart made manifest, and give glory to God.

In the use of instruction or information in the knowledge of some truth, which is a consequence from his doctrine, he may (when convenient) confirm it by a few firm arguments from the text in hand, and other places of Scripture, or from the nature of that common-place in divinity whereof that truth is a branch.

In confutation of false doctrines, he is neither to raise an old heresy from the grave, nor to mention a blasphemous opinion unnecessarily: but if the people be in danger of an error, he is to confute it soundly, and endeavour to satisfy their judgments and consciences against all objections.

In exhorting to duties, he is, as he seeth cause, to teach also the means that help to the performance of them.

In dehortation, reprehension, and public admonition (which require special wisdom), let him, as there shall be cause, not only discover the nature and greatness of the sin, with the misery attending it, but also shew the danger his hearers are in to be overtaken and surprised by it, together with the remedies and best way to avoid it.

In applying comfort, whether general against all temptations, or particular against some special troubles or terrors, he is carefully to answer such objections, as a troubled heart and afflicted spirit may suggest to the contrary.

It is also sometimes requisite to give some notes of trial (which is very profitable, especially when performed by able and experienced ministers, with circumspection and prudence, and the signs clearly grounded on the Holy

Scripture), whereby the hearers may be able to examine themselves, whether they have attained those graces, and performed those duties, to which he exhorteth, or be guilty of the sin reprehended, and in danger of the judgments threatened, or are such to whom the consolations propounded do belong; that accordingly they may be quickened and excited to duty, humbled for their wants and sins, affected with their danger, and strengthened with comfort, as their condition upon examination shall require.

And, as he needeth not always to prosecute every doctrine which lies in his text, so is he wisely to make choice of such uses, as, by his residence and conversing with his flock, he findeth most needful and seasonable; and amongst these, such as may most draw their souls to Christ, the fountain of light, holiness, and comfort.

This method is not prescribed as necessary for every man, or upon every text; but only recommended, as being found by experience to be very much blessed of God, and very helpful for the people's understandings and memories.

But the servant of Christ, whatever his method be, is to perform his whole ministry,

1. Painfully, not doing the work of the Lord negligently.

2. Plainly, that the meanest may understand, delivering the truth, not in the enticing words of man's wisdom, but in demonstration of the Spirit and of power, lest the cross of Christ should be made of none effect; abstaining also from an unprofitable use of unknown tongues, strange phrases, and cadences of sounds and words, sparingly citing sentences of ecclesiastical or other human writers, ancient or modern, be they never so elegant.

3. Faithfully looking at the honour of Christ, the conversion, edification, and salvation, of the people, not at his own gain or glory, keeping nothing back which may promote those holy ends, giving to every one his own portion, and bearing indifferent respect unto all, without neglecting the meanest, or sparing the greatest, in their sins.

4. Wisely framing all doctrines, exhortations, and especially his reproofs, in such a manner as may be most likely to prevail, shewing all due respect to each man's person and place, and not mixing his own passion or bitterness.

5. Gravely, as becometh the word of God, shunning all

such gesture, voice, and expressions, as may occasion the corruptions of men to despise him and his ministry.

6. With loving affection, that the people may see all coming from his godly zeal, and hearty desire to do them good.

7. As taught of God, and persuaded in his own heart, that all that he teacheth is the truth of Christ; and walking before his flock, as an example to them in it: earnestly, both in private and public, recommending his labours to the blessing of God, and watchfully looking to himself and the flock, whereof the Lord hath made him overseer: so shall the doctrine of truth be preserved uncorrupt, many souls converted and built up, and himself receive manifold comforts of his labours, even in this life, and afterward the crown of glory laid up for him in the world to come.

Where there are more ministers in a congregation than one, and they of different gifts, each may more especially apply himself to doctrine or exhortation, according to the gift wherein he most excelleth, and as they shall agree between themselves.

Of Prayer after Sermon.

The sermon being ended, the minister is "*to give thanks* for the great love of God, in sending his Son Jesus Christ unto us; for the communication of his Holy Spirit; for the light and liberty of the glorious gospel, and the rich and heavenly blessings revealed therein: as namely, election, vocation, adoption, justification, sanctification, and hope of glory: for the admirable goodness of God, in freeing the land from antichristian darkness and tyranny, and for all other national deliverances: for the reformation of religion, for the covenant; and for many temporal blessings.

"To pray for the continuance of the gospel, and all ordinances thereof, in their purity, power, and liberty: to turn the chief and most useful heads of the sermon into some few petitions; and to pray that it may abide in the heart, and bring forth fruit.

"To pray for preparation for death and judgment, and a watching for the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ: to entreat of God the forgiveness of the iniquities of our holy things, and the acceptation of our spiritual sacrifice, through

the merit and mediation of our great High-Priest and Saviour the Lord Jesus Christ.

And because the prayer which Christ taught his disciples is not only a pattern of prayer, but itself a most comprehensive prayer, we recommend it also to be used in the prayers of the church.

And whereas, at the administration of the sacraments, the holding public fasts, and days of thanksgiving, and other special occasions, which may afford matter of special petitions and thanksgivings, it is requisite to express somewhat in our public prayers (as at this time it is our duty to pray for a blessing upon the assembly of divines, the armies by sea and land, for the defence of the king, parliament, and kingdom), every minister is herein to apply himself in his prayer, before or after sermon, to those occasions: but for the manner he is left to his liberty, as God shall direct and enable him, in piety and wisdom to discharge his duty.

The prayer ended, let a psalm be sung, if with convenience it may be done. After which (unless some other ordinance of Christ, that concerneth the congregation at that time, be to follow), let the minister dismiss the congregation with a solemn blessing.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE SACRAMENTS.

AND FIRST, OF BAPTISM.

Baptism, as it is not unnecessarily to be delayed, so it is not to be administered in any case by any private person, but by a minister of Christ, called to be the steward of the mysteries of God.

Nor is it to be administered in private places, or privately, but in the place of public worship, and in the face of the congregation, where the people may most conveniently see and hear, and not in the places where fonts, in the time of Popery, were unfitly and superstitiously placed.

The child to be baptized, after notice given to the minister the day before, is to be presented by the father, or (in case of his necessary absence) by some Christian friend in his place, in professing his earnest desire that the child may be baptized.

Before baptism, the minister is to use some words of instruction, touching the institution, nature, use, and ends, of this sacrament: shewing,

"That it is instituted by our Lord Jesus Christ; that it is a seal of the covenant of grace, of our ingrafting into Christ, and of our union with him, of remission of sins, regeneration, adoption, and life eternal. That the water in baptism, representeth and signifieth, both the blood of Christ, which taketh away all guilt of sin, original and actual; and the sanctifying virtue of the Spirit of Christ against the dominion of sin, and the corruption of our sinful nature: that baptizing, or sprinkling and washing with water, signifieth the cleansing from sin by the blood and for the merit of Christ, together with the mortification of sin, and rising from sin to newness of life, by virtue of the death and resurrection of Christ: that the promise is made to believers and their seed; and that the seed and posterity of the faithful, born within the church, have by their birth, interest in the covenant, and right to the seal of it, and to the outward privileges of the church under the gospel, no less than the children of Abraham in the time of the Old Testament; the covenant of grace, for substance, being the same; and the grace of God, and the consolation of believers, more plentiful than before: that the Son of God admitted little children into his presence, embracing and blessing them, saying, 'for of such is the kingdom of God:' that children, by baptism, are solemnly received into the bosom of the visible church, distinguished from the world, and them that are without, and united with believers; and that all who are baptized in the name of Christ, do renounce, and by their baptism are bound to fight against, the devil, the world, and the flesh: that they are Christians, and federally holy before baptism, and therefore they are baptized; that the inward grace and virtue of baptism is not tied to that very moment of time wherein it is administered, and that the fruit and power thereof reacheth to the whole course of our life; and that outward baptism is not so necessary, that through the want thereof the infant is in danger of damnation, or the parents guilty, if they do not contemn or neglect the ordinance of Christ, when and where it may be had."

In these, or the like instructions, the minister is to use

his own liberty and godly wisdom, as the ignorance or errors in the doctrine of baptism, and the edification of the people shall require.

He is also to admonish all that are present,

"To look back to their baptism; to repent of their sins against their covenant with God; to stir up their faith; to improve and make the right use of their baptism, and of the covenant sealed thereby betwixt God and their souls."

He is to exhort the Parent,

"To consider the great mercy of God to him and his child, to bring up the child in the knowledge of the grounds of the Christian religion, and in the nurture and admonition of the Lord; and to let him know the danger of God's wrath to himself and child, if he be negligent; requiring his solemn promise for the performance of his duty."

This being done, prayer is also to be joined with the word of instruction, for sanctifying the water to this spiritual use; and the minister is to pray to this or the like effect.

"That the Lord, who hath not left us as strangers without the covenant of promise, but called us to the privileges of his ordinances, would graciously vouchsafe to sanctify and bless his own ordinance of baptism at this time: that he would join the inward baptism of his Spirit with the outward baptism of water; make this baptism to the infant a seal of adoption, remission of sin, regeneration, and eternal life, and all other promises of the covenant of grace: that the child may be planted into the likeness of the death and resurrection of Christ; and that the body of sin being destroyed in him, he may serve God in newness of life all his days."

Then the minister is to demand the name of the child, which being told him, he is to say (calling the child by his name), *I baptize thee in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.*

As he pronounceth these words, he is to baptize the child with water; which, for the manner of doing it, is not only lawful but sufficient, and most expedient to be, by pouring

or sprinkling of the water on the face of the child, without adding any other ceremony.

This done, he is to give thanks, and to pray, to this or the like purpose:

"Acknowledging with all thankfulness, that the Lord is true and faithful in keeping covenant and mercy; that he is good and gracious, not only in that he numbereth us among his saints, but is pleased also to bestow upon our children this singular token and badge of his love in Christ: that, in his truth and special providence, he daily bringeth some into the bosom of his church, to be partakers of his inestimable benefits, purchased by the blood of his dear Son, for the continuance and increase of his church.

"And praying, that the Lord would still continue and daily confirm more and more this his unspeakable favour: that he would receive the infant, now baptized, and solemnly entered into the household of faith, into his fatherly tuition and defence, and remember him with the favour that he sheweth to his people: that, if he shall be taken out of this life in his infancy, the Lord, who is rich in mercy, would be pleased to receive him up into glory; and if he live, and attain the years of discretion, that the Lord would so teach him by his word and Spirit, and make his baptism effectual to him, and so uphold him by his divine power and grace, that by faith he may prevail against the devil, the world, and the flesh, till in the end he obtain a full and final victory, and so be kept by the power of God through faith unto salvation, through Jesus Christ our Lord."

Of the Celebration of the Communion, or Sacrament of the Lord's Supper.

The communion, or supper of the Lord, is frequently to be celebrated: but how often, may be considered, and determined by the ministers, and other church-governors of each congregation, as they shall find it most convenient for the comfort and edification of the people committed to their charge. And when it shall be administered, we judge it convenient to be done after the morning sermon.

The ignorant and the scandalous are not fit to receive this sacrament of the Lord's supper.

Where this sacrament cannot with convenience be fre-

quently administered, it is requisite that public warning be given the sabbath-day before the administration thereof; and that either then, or on some day of that week, something concerning that ordinance, and the due preparation thereunto, and participation thereof, be taught, that by the diligent use of all means sanctified of God to that end, both in public and private, all may come better prepared to that heavenly feast.

When the day is come for administration, the minister having ended his sermon and prayer, shall make a short exhortation,

"Expressing the inestimable benefit we have by this sacrament; together with the ends and use thereof: setting forth the great necessity of having our comforts and strength renewed thereby, in this our pilgrimage and warfare: how necessary it is, that we come unto it with knowledge, faith, repentance, love, and with hungering and thirsting souls after Christ and his benefits: how great the danger to eat and drink unworthily.

"Next, he is, in the name of Christ, on the one part, to warn all such as are ignorant, scandalous, profane, or that live in any sin or offence against their knowledge or conscience, that they presume not to come to that holy table; shewing them that he that eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh judgment unto himself: and on the other part, he is in especial manner to invite and encourage all that labour under the sense of the burden of their sins, and fear of wrath, and desire to reach out unto a greater progress in grace than yet they can attain unto, to come to the Lord's table; assuring them, in the same name, of ease, refreshing, and strength, to their weak and wearied souls."

After this exhortation, warning, and invitation, the table being before decently covered, and so conveniently placed that the communicants may orderly sit about it, or at it, the minister is to begin the action with sanctifying and blessing the elements of bread and wine set before him (the bread in comely and convenient vessels, so prepared, that being broken by him, and given, it may be distributed amongst the communicants: the wine also in large cups); having first in a few words shewed, that those elements,

otherwise common, are now set apart and sanctified to this holy use, by the word of institution and prayer.

Let the words of institution be read out of the evangelists, or out of the First Epistle of the apostle Paul to the Corinthians, chap. xi. verse 23. "I have received of the Lord," &c. to the twenty-seventh verse, which the minister may, when he seeth requisite, explain and apply.

Let the prayer, thanksgiving, or blessing, of the bread and wine, be to this effect:

"With humble and hearty acknowledgment of the greatness of our misery, from which neither man nor angel was able to deliver us, and of our great unworthiness of the least of all God's mercies; to give thanks to God for all his benefits, and especially for that great benefit of our redemption, the love of God the Father, the sufferings and merits of the Lord Jesus Christ the Son of God, by which we are delivered; and for all means of grace, the word, and sacraments; and for this sacrament in particular, by which Christ, and all his benefits, are applied and sealed up unto us, which, notwithstanding the denial of them unto others, are in great mercy continued unto us, after so much and long abuse of them all.

"To profess, that there is no other name under heaven by which we can be saved, but the name of Jesus Christ, by whom alone we receive liberty and life, have access to the throne of grace, are admitted to eat and drink at his own table, and are sealed up by his Spirit to an assurance of happiness and everlasting life.

"Earnestly to pray to God, the Father of all mercies, and God of all consolation, to vouchsafe his gracious presence, and the effectual working of his Spirit in us, and so to sanctify these elements, both of bread and wine, and to bless his own ordinance, that we may receive by faith the body and blood of Jesus Christ crucified for us, and so to feed upon him, that he may be one with us, and we with him; that he may live in us, and we in him, and to him, who hath loved us, and given himself for us."

All which he is to endeavour to perform with suitable affections, answerable to such a holy action, and to stir up the like in the people.

The elements being now sanctified by the word and prayer,

the minister, being at the table, is to take the bread in his hand, and say, in these expressions (or other the like, used by Christ, or his apostle, upon this occasion):

"According to the holy institution, command, and example, of our blessed Saviour Jesus Christ, I take this bread, and having given thanks, I break it, and give it unto you [there the minister, who is also himself to communicate, is to break the bread and give it to the communicants]: 'Take ye, eat ye; this is the body of Christ which is broken for you; do this in remembrance of him.'"

In like manner the minister is to take the cup, and say, in these expressions (or other the like, used by Christ, or the apostle, upon the same occasion);

"According to the institution, command, and example, of our Lord Jesus Christ, I take this cup, and give it unto you [here he giveth it to the communicants]: 'This cup is the New Testament in the blood of Christ, which is shed for the remission of the sins of many; drink ye all of it.'"

After all have communicated, the minister may, in a few words, put them in mind,

"Of the grace of God, in Jesus Christ, held forth in this sacrament; and exhort them to walk worthy of it."

The minister is to give solemn thanks to God,

"For his rich mercy and invaluable goodness vouchsafed to them in that sacrament; and to entreat for pardon for the defects of the whole service, and for the gracious assistance of his good Spirit, whereby they may be enabled to walk in the strength of that grace, as becometh those who have received so great pledges of salvation."

The collection for the poor is so to be ordered, that no part of the public worship be thereby hindered.

Of the Sanctification of the Lord's Day.

The Lord's day ought to be so remembered beforehand, as that all worldly business of our ordinary callings may be so ordered, and so timely and seasonably laid aside, as they may not be impediments to the due sanctifying of the day when it comes.

The whole day is to be celebrated as holy to the Lord, both in public and private, as being the Christian sabbath. To which end it is requisite, that there be a holy cessation, or resting all the day, from all unnecessary labours; and an

abstaining, not only from all sports and pastimes, but also from all worldly words and thoughts.

That the diet on that day be so ordered, as that neither servants be unnecessarily detained from the public worship of God, nor any other persons hindered from the sanctifying that day.

That there be private preparation of every person and family, by prayer for themselves, and for God's assistance of the minister, and for a blessing upon his ministry; and by such other holy exercises as may farther dispose them to a more comfortable communion with God in his public ordinances.

That all the people meet so timely for public worship, that the whole congregation may be present at the beginning, and with one heart solemnly join together in all parts of the public worship, and not depart till after the blessing.

That what time is vacant, between or after the solemn meetings of the congregation in public, be spent in reading, meditation, repetition of sermons (especially by calling their families to an account of what they have heard); and catechising of them, holy conferences, prayer for a blessing upon the public ordinances, singing of psalms, visiting the sick, relieving the poor, and such-like duties of piety, charity, and mercy, accounting the sabbath a delight.

The Solemnization of Marriage.

Although marriage be no sacrament, nor peculiar to the church of God, but common to mankind, and of public interest in every commonwealth; yet because such as marry, are to marry in the Lord, and have special need of instruction, direction, and exhortation, from the word of God, at their entering into such a new condition; and of the blessing of God upon them therein; we judge it expedient, that marriage be solemnized by a lawful minister of the word, that he may accordingly counsel them, and pray for a blessing upon them.

Marriage is to be betwixt one man and one woman only; and they such as are not within the degrees of consanguinity or affinity prohibited by the word of God; and the parties are to be of years of discretion, fit to make their own choice, or upon good grounds to give their mutual consent.

Before the solemnizingof marriage between any persons, their purpose of marriage shall be published by the minister, three several sabbath-days, in the congregation at the place or places of their most usual and constant abode respectively. And of this publication, the minister who is to join them in marriage shall have sufficient testimony, before he proceed to solemnize the marriage.

Before that publication of such their purpose (if the parties be under age), the consent of the parents, or others under whose power they are (in case the parents be dead), is to be made known to the church-officers of that congregation, to be recorded.

The like is to be observed in the proceedings of all others, although of age, whose parents are living, for their first marriage. And in after marriages of either of those parties, they shall be exhorted not to contract marriage without first acquainting their parents with it (if with conveniency it may be done), endeavouring to obtain their consent.

Parents ought not to force their children to marry without their free consent, nor deny their own consent without just cause.

After the purpose or contract of marriage hath been thus published, the marriage is not to be long deferred. Therefore the minister, having had convenient warning, and nothing being objected to hinder it, is publicly to solemnize it in the place appointed by authority for public worship, before a competent number of credible witnesses, at some convenient hour of the day, at any time of the year, except on a day of public humiliation. And we advise that it be not on the Lord's day.

And because all relations are sanctified by the word and prayer, the minister is to pray for a blessing upon them to this effect:

"Acknowledging our sins, whereby we have made ourselves less than the least of all the mercies of God, and provoked him to imbitter all our comforts; earnestly, in the name of Christ, to entreat the Lord (whose presence and favour is the happiness of every condition, and sweetens every relation) to be their portion, and to own and accept them in Christ, who are now to be joined in the honourable estate of marriage, the covenant of their God: and that,

as he hath brought them together by his providence, he would sanctify them by his Spirit, giving them a new frame of heart, fit for their new estate; enriching them with all graces, whereby they may perform the duties, enjoy the comforts, undergo the cares, and resist the temptations, which accompany that condition, as becometh Christians."

The prayer being ended, it is convenient that the minister do briefly declare unto them out of the Scripture,

"The institution, use, and ends, of marriage, with the conjugal duties, which, in all faithfulness, they are to perform each to other; exhorting them to study the holy word of God, that they may learn to live by faith, and to be content in the midst of all marriage-cares and troubles, sanctifying God's name, in a thankful, sober, and holy use of all conjugal comforts; praying much with and for one another; watching over and provoking each other to love and good works; and to live together as the heirs of the grace of life."

After solemn charging of the persons to be married before the great God, who searcheth all hearts, and to whom they must give a strict account at the last day, that if either of them know any cause, by precontract or otherwise, why they may not lawfully proceed to marriage, that they now discover it: the minister (if no impediment be acknowledged) shall cause first the man to take the woman by the right hand, saying these words,

"I N. do take thee N. to be my married wife, and do, in the presence of God, and before this congregation, promise and covenant to be a loving and faithful husband unto thee, until God shall separate us by death."

Then the woman shall take the man by his right hand, and say these words,

"I N. do take thee N. to be my married husband, and I do, in the presence of God, and before this congregation, promise and covenant to be a loving, faithful, and obedient wife unto thee, until God shall separate us by death."

Then, without any farther ceremony, the minister shall, in the face of the congregation, pronounce them to be husband and wife, according to God's ordinance; and so conclude the action with prayer to this effect;

"That the Lord would be pleased to accompany his own

ordinance with his blessing, beseeching him to enrich the persons now married, as with other pledges of his love, so particularly with the comforts and fruits of marriage, to the praise of his abundant mercy, in and through Christ Jesus."

A register is to be carefully kept, wherein the names of the parties so married, with the time of their marriage, are forthwith to be fairly recorded in a book, provided for that purpose, for the perusal of all whom it may concern.

Concerning Visitation of the Sick.

It is the duty of the minister, not only to teach the people committed to his charge, in public; but privately and particularly to admonish, exhort, reprove, and comfort them, upon all seasonable occasions, so far as his time, strength, and personal safety, will permit.

He is to admonish them, in time of health, to prepare for death; and for that purpose, they are often to confer with their minister about the estate of their souls; and in times of sickness, to desire his advice and help, timely and seasonably, before their strength and understanding fail them.

Times of sickness and affliction are special opportunities put into his hand by God, to minister a word in season to weary souls, because then the consciences of men are or should be more awakened to bethink themselves of their spiritual estates for eternity; and Satan also takes advantage then, to load them more with sore and heavy temptations: therefore the minister being sent for, and repairing to the sick, is to apply himself with all tenderness and love, to administer some spiritual good to his soul to this effect.

He may, from the consideration of the present sickness, instruct him out of Scripture, that diseases come not by chance, or by distempers of body only, but by the wise and orderly guidance of the good hand of God, to every particular person smitten by them. And that, whether it be laid upon him out of displeasure for sin, for his correction and amendment, or for trial and exercise of his graces, or for other special and excellent ends, all his sufferings shall turn to his profit, and work together for his good, if he sincerely labour to make a sanctified use of God's visitation, neither despising his chastening, nor waxing weary of his correction.

If he suspect him of ignorance, he shall examine him in the principles of religion, especially touching repentance and faith; and as he seeth cause, instruct him in the nature, use, excellency, and necessity, of those graces; as also touching the covenant of grace, and Christ the Son of God, the mediator of it, and concerning remission of sins by faith in him.

He shall exhort the sick person to examine himself, to search and try his former ways, and his estate towards God.

And if the sick person shall declare any scruple, doubt, or temptation, that is upon him, instructions and resolutions shall be given to satisfy and settle him.

If it appear that he hath not a due sense of his sins, endeavours ought to be used to convince him of his sins, of the guilt and desert of them; of the filth and pollution, which the soul contracts by them; and of the curse of the law, and wrath of God, due to them: that he may be truly affected with and humbled for them: and withal to make known the danger of deferring repentance, and of neglecting salvation at any time offered; to awaken his conscience, and rouse him up out of a stupid and secure condition, to apprehend the justice and wrath of God, before whom none can stand, but he that, being lost to himself, layeth hold upon Christ by faith.

If he have endeavoured to walk in the ways of holiness, and to serve God in uprightness, although not without many failings and infirmities; or if his spirit be broken with the sense of sin, or cast down through want of the sense of God's favour, then it will be fit to raise him up, by setting before him the freeness and fulness of God's grace, the sufficiency of righteousness in Christ, the gracious offers in the gospel, that all who repent and believe with all their heart in God's mercy through Christ, renouncing their own righteousness, shall have life and salvation in him: it may also be useful to shew him, that death hath in it no spiritual evil to be feared by those that are in Christ, because sin, the sting of death, is taken away by Christ, who hath delivered all that are his, from the bondage of the fear of death, triumphed over the grave, given us victory, is himself entered into glory, to prepare a place for his people: so that neither life nor death shall be able to separate them from God's love in Christ, in whom such are

sure, though now they must be laid in the dust, to obtain a joyful and glorious resurrection to eternal life.

Advice also may be given, as to beware of an ill-grounded persuasion on mercy, or on the goodness of his condition for heaven, so to disclaim all merit in himself, and to cast himself wholly upon God for mercy, in the sole merits and mediation of Jesus Christ, who hath engaged himself never to cast off them, who in truth and sincerity come unto him. Care also must be taken, that the sick person be not cast down into despair, by such a severe representation of the wrath of God due to him for his sins, as is not mollified by a seasonable propounding of Christ and his merit, for a door of hope to every penitent believer.

When the sick person is best composed, may be least disturbed, and other necessary offices about him least hindered, the minister, if desired, shall pray with him, and for him, to this effect;

"Confessing and bewailing of sin original and actual, the miserable condition of all by nature, as being children of wrath, and under the curse; acknowledging that all diseases, sicknesses, death, and hell itself, are the proper issues and effects thereof; imploring God's mercy for the sick person through the blood of Christ; beseeching that God would open his eyes, discover unto him his sins, cause him to see himself lost in himself, make known to him the cause why God smiteth him, reveal Jesus Christ to his soul for righteousness and life, give unto him his Holy Spirit to create and strengthen faith, to lay hold upon Christ, to work in him comfortable evidences of his love, to arm him against temptations, to take off his heart from the world, to sanctify his present visitation, to furnish him with patience and strength to bear it, and to give him perseverance in faith to the end.

"That if God shall please to add to his days, he would vouchsafe to bless and sanctify all means of his recovery, to remove the disease, renew his strength, and enable him to walk worthy of God, by a faithful remembrance and diligent observing of such vows and promises of holiness and obedience, as men are apt to make in times of sickness, that he may glorify God in the remaining part of his life.

"And if God have determined to finish his days by the

present visitation, he may find such evidence of the pardon of all his sins, of his interest in Christ, and eternal life by Christ, as may cause his inward man to be renewed, while his outward man decayeth; that he may behold death without fear, cast himself wholly upon Christ without doubting, desire to be dissolved and be with Christ, and so receive the end of his faith, the salvation of his soul, through the only merits and intercession of the Lord Jesus Christ, our alone Saviour, and all-sufficient Redeemer."

The minister shall admonish him also (as there shall be cause) to set his house in order, thereby to prevent inconveniences; to take care for the payment of his debts, and to make restitution or satisfaction where he hath done any wrong, to be reconciled to those with whom he hath been at variance, and fully to forgive all men their trespasses against him, as he expects forgiveness at the hand of God.

Lastly, the minister may improve the present occasion to exhort those about the sick person, to consider their own mortality, to return to the Lord and make peace with him; in health to prepare for sickness, death, and judgment; and all the days of their appointed time so to wait until their change come, that when Christ, who is our life, shall appear, they may appear with him in glory.

Concerning Burial of the Dead.

When any person departeth this life, let the dead body, upon the day of burial, be decently attended from the house to the place appointed for public burial, and there immediately interred, without any ceremony.

And because the customs of kneeling down, and praying by or towards the dead corpse, and other such usages, in the place where it lies, before it be carried to burial, are superstitious; and for that, praying, reading, and singing, both in going to, and at the grave, have been grossly abused, are no way beneficial to the dead, and have proved many ways hurtful to the living, therefore let all such things be laid aside.

Howbeit, we judge it very convenient, that the Christian friends, which accompany the dead body to the place appointed for public burial, do apply themselves to meditations, and conferences suitable to the occasion: and that the mi-

nister, as upon other occasions, so at this time, if he be present, may put them in remembrance of their duty.

That this shall not extend to deny any civil respects or deferences at the burial, suitable to the rank and condition of the party deceased while he was living.

Concerning public solemn Fasting.

When some great and notable judgments are either inflicted upon a people, or apparently imminent, or by some extraordinary provocations notoriously deserved; as also, when some special blessing is to be sought and obtained, public solemn fasting (which is to continue the whole day) is a duty that God expecteth from that nation or people.

A religious fast requires total abstinence, not only from all food (unless bodily weakness do manifestly disable from holding out till the fast be ended, in which case somewhat may be taken, yet very sparingly, to support nature, when ready to faint), but also from all worldly labour, discourses, and thoughts, and from all bodily delights (although at other times lawful), rich apparel, ornaments, and such-like, during the fast; and much more from whatever is, in the nature or use, scandalous and offensive, as gaudish attire, lascivious habits and gestures, and other vanities of either sex; which we recommend to all ministers, in their places, diligently and zealously to reprove, as at other times, so especially at a fast, without respect of persons, as there shall be occasion.

Before the public meeting, each family and person apart are privately to use all religious care to prepare their hearts to such solemn work, and to be early at the congregation.

So large a portion of the day, as conveniently may be, is to be spent in public reading and preaching of the word, with singing of psalms, fit to quicken affections suitable to such a duty, but especially in prayer, to this or the like effect:

"Giving glory to the great majesty of God, the creator, preserver, and supreme ruler, of all the world, the better to affect us thereby with a holy reverence and awe of him; acknowledging his manifold, great, and tender mercies, especially to the church and nation, the more effectually to soften and abase our hearts before him; humbly confessing

of sins of all sorts, with their several aggravations; justifying God's righteous judgments, as being far less than our sins do deserve; yet humbly and earnestly imploring his mercy and grace for ourselves, the church, and nation, for our king, and all in authority, and for all others for whom we are bound to pray (according as the present exigence requireth), with more special importunity and enlargement than at other times; applying, by faith, the promises and goodness of God, for pardon, help, and deliverance from the evils felt, feared, or deserved; and for obtaining the blessings which we need and expect; together with a giving up of ourselves wholly and for ever unto the Lord."

In all these, the ministers, who are the mouths of the people unto God, ought so to speak from their hearts, upon serious and thorough premeditation of them, that both themselves and the people may be much affected, and even melted thereby; especially with sorrow for their sins, that it may be indeed a day of deep humiliation and afflicting of the soul.

Special choice is to be made of such scriptures to be read, and of such texts for preaching, as may best work the hearts of the hearers to the special business of the day, and most dispose them to humiliation and repentance; insisting most on those particulars, which each minister's observation and experience tell him, are most conducing to the edification and reformation of that congregation to which he preacheth.

Before the close of the public duties the minister is, in his own and the people's names, to engage his and their hearts to be the Lord's, with professed purpose and resolution to reform whatever is amiss amongst them, and more particularly such sins as they have been more remarkably guilty of; and, to draw nearer unto God, and to walk more closely and faithfully with him in new obedience, than ever before.

He is also to admonish the people with all importunity, that the work of that day doth not end with the public duties of it, but that they are so to improve the remainder of the day, and of their whole life, in reinforcing upon themselves and their familes in private, all those godly affections and resolutions which they professed in public, as that they may be settled in their hearts for ever, and themselves may more sensibly find, that God hath smelt a sweet savour in Christ

from their performances, and is pacified towards them, by answers of grace, in pardoning of sin, in removing of judgments, in averting or preventing of plagues, and in conferring of blessings, suitable to the conditions and prayers of his people by Jesus Christ.

Besides solemn and general fasts enjoined by authority, we judge, that at other times congregations may keep days of fasting, as Divine Providence shall administer unto them special occasions. And also, that families may do the same, so it be not on days wherein the congregation to which they do belong, is to meet for fasting, or other public duties of worship.

Concerning the Observation of Days of Public Thanksgiving.

When any such day is to be kept, let notice be given of it, and of the occasion thereof, some convenient time before, that the people may the better prepare themselves thereunto.

The day being come, and the congregation (after private preparations) being assembled, the minister is to begin with a word of exhortation, to stir up the people to the duty for which they are met, and with a short prayer for God's assistance and blessing (as at other conventions for public worship), according to the particular occasion of their meeting.

Let him then make some pithy narration of the deliverance obtained, or mercy received, or of whatever hath occasioned that assembling of the congregation, that all may better understand it, or be minded of it, and more affected with it.

And because singing of psalms is of all other the most proper ordinance for expressing of joy and thanksgiving, let some pertinent psalm or psalms be sung for that purpose, before or after the reading of some portion of the word, suitable to the present business.

Then let the minister who is to preach, proceed to farther exhortation and prayer before his sermon, with special reference to the present work: after which, let him preach upon some text of Scripture pertinent to the occasion.

The sermon ended, let him not only pray, as at other time after preaching is directed, with remembrance of the necessities of the church, king, and state (if before the sermon they were omitted), but enlarge himself in due and

solemn thanksgiving for former mercies and deliverances, but more especially for that which at the present calls them together to give thanks: with humble petition for the continuance and renewing of God's wonted mercies, as need shall be, and for sanctifying grace to make a right use thereof. And so, having sung another psalm suitable to the mercy, let him dismiss the congregation with a blessing, that they may have some convenient time for their repast and refreshment.

But the minister (before their dismission) is solemnly to admonish them, to beware of all excess and riot, tending to gluttony or drunkenness, and much more of these sins themselves, in their eating and refreshing; and to take care that their mirth and rejoicing be not carnal, but spiritual, which may make God's praise to be glorious, and themselves humble and sober; and that both their feeding and rejoicing may render them more cheerful and enlarged, farther to celebrate his praises in the midst of the congregation, when they return unto it, in the remaining part of that day.

When the congregation shall be again assembled, the like course in praying, reading, preaching, singing of psalms, and offering up of more praise and thanksgiving, that is before directed for the morning, is to be renewed and continued so far as the time will give leave.

At one or both of the public meetings that day, a collection is to be made for the poor (and in the like manner upon the day of public humiliation), that their loins may bless us, and rejoice the more with us. And the people are to be exhorted, at the end of the latter meeting, to spend the residue of that day in holy duties, and testificat ons of Christian love and charity one towards another, and of rejoicing more and more in the Lord, as becometh those who make the joy of the Lord their strength.

Of Singing of Psalms.

It is the duty of Christians to praise God publicly, by singing of psalms together in the congregation, and also privately in the family.

In singing of psalms the voice is to be tunably and gravely ordered; but the chief must be, to sing with understanding, and with grace in the heart, making melody unto the Lord.

That the whole congregation may join herein, every one that can read is to have a psalm-book; and all others, not disabled by age, or otherwise, are to be exhorted to learn to read. But for the present, where many in the congregation cannot read, it is convenient that the minister, or some other fit person appointed by him, and the other ruling officers, do read the psalm line by line, before the singing thereof.

An Appendix, touching Days and Places of public Worship.

There is no day commanded in Scripture to be kept holy under the gospel but the Lord's day, which is the Christian sabbath.

Festival days, vulgarly called holidays, having no warrant in the word of God, are not to be continued.

Nevertheless, it is lawful and necessary, upon special emergent occasions, to separate a day or days for public fasting or thanksgiving, as the several eminent and extraordinary dispensations of God's providence shall administer cause and opportunity to his people.

As no place is capable of any holiness, under pretence of whatsoever dedication or consecration; so neither is it subject to such pollution by any superstition formerly used, and now laid aside, as may render it unlawful or inconvenient for Christians to meet together therein for the public worship of God. And therefore we hold it requisite, that the places of public assembling for worship amongst us, should be continued, and employed to that use.

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An Appendix, touching days and places of public worship.

No. IX.

THE FORM OF PRESBYTERIAL CHURCH-GOVERNMENT

Agreed upon by the Assembly of Divines at Westminster; examined and approved, Anno 1645, *by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, &c.*

THE PREFACE.

JESUS CHRIST, upon whose shoulders the government is, whose name is called Wonderful, Counsellor, the mighty God, the everlasting Father, the Prince of peace,* of the increase of whose government and peace there shall be no end, who sits upon the throne of David, and upon his kingdom, to order it, and to establish it with judgment and justice, from henceforth even for ever, having all power given unto him even in heaven and in earth by the Father, who raised him from the dead, and set him at his own right hand, far above all principalities, and power, and might, and dominion, and every name that is named, not only in this world, but also in that which is to come, and put all things under his feet, and gave him to be the head over all things to the church, which is his body, the fulness of him that filleth all in all: he being ascended up far above all heavens, that he might fill all things, received gifts for his church, and gave offices necessary for the edification of his church, and perfecting of his saints.

Of the Church.

There is one general church visible held forth in the New Testament, 1 Cor. xii. 12, 13. 28, together with the rest of the chapter.

The ministry, oracles, and ordinances, of the New Testament, are given by Jesus Christ to the general church visible, for the gathering and perfecting of it in this life, until his second coming, 1 Cor. xii. 28. Eph. iv. 4, 5, compared with ver. 10—16, of the same chapter.

Particular visible churches, members of the general church, are also held forth in the New Testament, Gal. i. 21, 22. Rev. i. 4. 20, and Rev. ii. 1. Particular churches,

* Isa. ix. 6, 7.

in the primitive times, were made up of visible saints, viz. of such as, being of age, professed faith in Christ, and obedience unto Christ, according to the rules of faith and life taught by Christ and his apostles; and of their children, Acts ii. 38. 41; and ver. last, compared with v. 14. 1 Cor. i. 2, compared with 2 Cor. ix. 13. Acts ii. 39. 1 Cor. vii. 14. Rom. ix. 16, and so forward; Mark x. 14, compared with Matt. xix. 13, 14. Luke xviii. 15, 16.*

Of the Officers of the Church.

The officers which Christ hath appointed for the edification of his church, and the perfecting of the saints, are,

Some extraordinary, as apostles, evangelists, and prophets, which are ceased.

Others ordinary and perpetual, as pastors, teachers, and other church-governors, and deacons.

Pastors.

The pastor is an ordinary and perpetual officer in the church. Jer. iii. 15—17; prophesying of the time of the gospel. 1 Pet. v. 2—4. Eph. iv. 11—13.

First, it belongs to his office,

To pray for and with his flock, as the mouth of the people unto God. Acts vi. 2—4. Acts xx. 36; where preaching and prayer are joined as several parts of the same office. James v. 14, 15. The office of the elder, that is, the pastor, is to pray for the sick, even in private, to which a blessing is especially promised: much more therefore ought he to perform this in the public execution of his office, as a part thereof. 1 Cor. xiv. 15, 16.

To read the Scripture publicly; for the proof of which,

1. That the priests and Levites in the Jewish church were trusted with the public reading of the word, as is proved, Deut. xxxi. 9—11. Neh. viii. 1, 2. 13.

2. That the ministers of the gospel have as ample a charge and commission to dispense the word as well as other ordinances, as the priests and Levites had under the law, proved, Isa. lxvi. 21, and Matt. xxiii. 34, where our Saviour entitleth the officers of the New Testament, whom he will send forth, by the same names as the teachers of the Old.

Which propositions prove, that therefore (the duty being

* Matt. xxviii. 18—20. Eph. i. 20—22, compared with iv. 8—11, and Psalm lxviii. 18.

of a moral nature) it followeth by just consequence, that the public reading of the Scriptures belongeth to the pastor's office.

To feed the flock, by preaching of the word, according to which he is to teach, convince, reprove, exhort, and comfort. 1 Tim. iii. 2. 2 Tim. iii. 16, 17. Tit. i. 9.

To catechise, which is a plain laying down the first principles of the oracles of God, Heb. v. 12; or of the doctrine of Christ, and is a part of preaching.

To dispense other divine mysteries, 1 Cor. iv. 1, 2.

To administer the sacraments, Matt. xxviii. 19, 20. Mark xvi. 15, 16. 1 Cor. xi. 23—25, compared with x. 16.

To bless the people from God, Numb. vi. 23—26, compared with Rev. xiv. 5. (where the same blessings, and persons from whom they come, are expressly mentioned), Isa. lxvi. 21, where, under the names of priests and Levites to be continued under the gospel, are meant evangelical pastors, who therefore are by office to bless the people, Deut. x. 8. 2 Cor. xiii. 14. Eph. i. 2.

To take care of the poor, Acts xi. 30. iv. 34—37. vi. 2—4. 1 Cor. xvi. 1—4. Gal. ii. 9, 10.

And he hath also a ruling power over the flock as a pastor, 1 Tim. v. 17. Acts xx. 17. 28. 1 Thess. v. 12. Heb. xiii. 7. 17.

Teacher or Doctor.

The Scripture doth hold out the name and title of teacher, as well as of the pastor, 1 Cor. xii. 28. Eph. iv. 11.

Who is also a minister of the word as well as the pastor, and hath power of administration of the sacraments.

The Lord having given different gifts, and divers exercises according to these gifts, in the ministry of the word, Rom. xii. 6—8. 1 Cor. xii. 1. 4—7, though these different gifts may meet in, and accordingly be exercised by, one and the same minister, 1 Cor. xiv. 3. 2 Tim. iv. 2. Tit. i. 9; yet, where be several ministers in the same congregation, they may be designed to several employments, according to the different gifts in which each of them doth most excel. Rom. xii. 6—8. 1 Pet. iv. 10, 11. And he that doth more excel in exposition of Scriptures, in teaching sound doctrine, and in convincing gainsayers, than he doth in application, and is accordingly employed therein, may be called a teacher, or doctor (the places alleged by the notation of

the word do prove the proposition), nevertheless, where is but one minister in a particular congregation, he is to perform, so far as he is able, the whole work of the ministry, as appeareth in 2 Tim. vi. 2. Tit. i. 9, before alleged. 1 Tim. vi. 2.

A teacher or doctor is of most excellent use in schools and universities: as of old in the schools of the prophets, and at Jerusalem, where Gamaliel and others taught as doctors.

Other Church Governors.

As there were in the Jewish church, elders of the people joined with the priests and Levites in the government of the church, (as appeareth in 1 Chron xix. 8—10.) so Christ, who hath instituted a government and governors ecclesiastical in the church, hath furnished some in his church, beside the ministers of the word, with gifts for government, and with commission to execute the same when called thereunto, who are to join with the minister in the government of the church, Rom. xii. 7, 8. 1 Cor. xii. 28. Which officers reformed churches commonly call elders.

Deacons.

The Scripture doth hold out deacons as distinct officers in the church. Phil. i. 1. 1 Tim. iii. 8.

Whose office is perpetual. 1 Tim. iii. 8, to verse 15. Acts vi. 1—4. To whose office it belongs not to preach the word, or administer the sacraments, but to take special care in distributing to the necessities of the poor. Acts vi. 1—4, and the verses following.

Of particular Congregations.

It is lawful and expedient that there be fixed congregations, that is, a certain company of Christians to meet in one assembly ordinarily for public worship. When believers multiply to such a number that they cannot conveniently meet in one place, it is lawful and expedient that they should be divided into distinct and fixed congregations, for the better administration of such ordinances as belong unto them, and the discharge of mutual duties. 1 Cor. xiv. 26. "Let all things be done unto edifying;" and 33 and 40.

The ordinary way of dividing Christians into distinct congregations, and most expedient for edification, is by the respective bounds of their dwellings.

1st. Because they who dwell together, being bound to all kind of moral duties one to another, have the better opportunity thereby to discharge them; which moral tie is perpetual, for Christ came not to destroy the law, but to fulfil it. Deut. xv. 7. 11. Matt. xxii. 39. v. 17.

2dly. The communion of saints must be so ordered, as may stand with the most convenient use of the ordinances, and discharge of moral duties, without respect of persons. 1 Cor. xiv. 26. "Let all things be done unto edifying." Heb. x. 24, 25. James ii. 1, 2.

3dly. The pastor and people must so nearly cohabit together, as that they may mutually perform their duties each to other with most conveniency.

In this company some must be set apart to bear office.

Of the Officers of a particular Congregation.

For officers in a single congregation, there ought to be one at the least, both to labour in the word and doctrine, and to rule. Prov. xxix. 18. 1 Tim. v. 17. Heb. xiii. 7.

It is also requisite that there should be others to join in government. 1 Cor. xii. 28.

And likewise it is requisite that there should be others to take special care for the relief of the poor. *Acts vi. 2, 3.*

The number of each of which is to be proportioned according to the condition of the congregation.

These officers are to meet together at convenient and set times, for the well ordering the affairs of that congregation, each according to his office.

It is most expedient that in these meetings, one whose office is to labour in the word and doctrine, do moderate in their proceedings. 1 Tim. v. 17.

Of the Ordinances in a particular Congregation.

The ordinances in a single congregation are, prayer, thanksgiving, and singing of psalms, (1 Tim. ii. 1. 1 Cor. xiv. 15, 16.) the word read (although there follow no immediate explication of what is read), the word expounded and applied, catechising, the sacraments administered, collection made for the poor, dismissing the people with a blessing.

Of Church-Government, and the several Sorts of Assemblies for the same.

Christ hath instituted a government, and governors eccle-

siastical in the church: to that purpose, the apostles did immediately receive the keys from the hand of Jesus Christ, and did use and exercise them in all the churches of the world, upon all occasions.

And Christ hath since continually furnished some in his church with gifts of government, and with commission to execute the same, when called thereunto.

It is lawful and agreeable to the word of God, that the church be governed by several sorts of assemblies, which are congregational, classical, and synodical.

Of the Power in common of all these Assemblies.

It is lawful and agreeable to the word of God, that the several assemblies before mentioned have power to convene, and call before them, any person within their several bounds whom the ecclesiastical business which is before them doth concern; proved by Matt. xviii.

They have the power to hear and determine such causes and differences as do orderly come before them.

It is lawful and agreeable to the word of God, that all the said assemblies have some power to dispense church-censures.

Of Congregational Assemblies, that is, the Meeting of the ruling Officers of a particular Congregation for the Government thereof.

The ruling officers of a particular congregation have power, authoritatively, to call before them any member of the congregation, as they shall see just occasion.

To inquire into the knowledge and spiritual estate of the several members of the congregation.

To admonish and rebuke.

Which three branches are proved by *Heb.* xiii. 17. 1 Thess. v. *12, 13.* Ezek. xxxiv. 4.

Authoritative suspension from the Lord's table, of a person not yet cast out of the church, is agreeable to the Scripture;

1st. Because the ordinance itself must not be profaned.

2dly. Because we are charged to withdraw from those that walk disorderly.

3dly. Because of the great sin and danger, both to him

that comes unworthily, and also to the whole church. Matt. vii. 6. 2 Thess. iii. 6. 14, 15. 1 Cor. xi. 27, to the end of the chapter, compared with Jude 23. 1 Tim. v. 22. And there was power and authority, under the Old Testament, to keep unclean persons from holy things. Levit. xiii. 5. Numb. ix. 7. 2 Chron. xxiii. 19.

The like power and authority, by way of analogy, continues under the New Testament.

The ruling officers of a particular congregation have power, authoritatively, to suspend from the Lord's table a person not yet cast out of the church.

1st. Because those who have authority to judge of and admit such as are fit to receive the sacrament, have authority to keep back such as shall be found unworthy.

2dly. Because it is an ecclesiastical business of ordinary practice belonging to that congregation.

When congregations are divided and fixed, they need all mutual help one from another, both in regard of their intrinsical weaknesses, and mutual dependance; as also, in regard of enemies from without.

Of Classical Assemblies.

The Scripture doth hold out a presbytery *in the church*, both in the First Epistle to Timothy, iv. 14, and in Acts xv. 2. 4. 6.

A presbytery consisteth of ministers of the word, and such other public officers as are agreeable to, and warranted by, the word of God, to be church-governors, to join with the ministers in the government of the church; as appeareth, Rom. xii. 7, 8. 1 Cor. xii. 28. *

The Scripture doth hold forth, that many particular congregations may be under one presbyterial government.

This proposition is proved by instances.

I. First. Of the church of Jerusalem, which *consisted* of more congregations than one, and all these congregations were under one presbyterial government.

This appeareth thus:

1. First. The church of Jerusalem consisted of more congregations than one, as is manifest,

1st. By the multitude of believers mentioned in divers places: both before the dispersion of the believers there by the persecution (mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles, chap.

viii. in the beginning thereof), witness chap. i. verse 11. ii. 41. 46, 47; iv. 4, v. 14, and vi. of the same book of the Acts, verses 1 and 7; and also after the dispersion, ix. 31, xii. 24, and xxi. 20, of the same book.

2dly. By the many apostles and other preachers in the church of Jerusalem: and if there were but one congregation there, then each apostle preached but seldom; which will not consist with chap vi. verse 2 of the same book of the Acts of the Apostles.

3dly. The diversity of languages amongst the believers, mentioned both in the second and sixth chapters of the Acts, doth argue more congregations than one in that church.

2. Secondly. All those congregations were under one presbyterial government; because, 1st. They were one church, Acts viii. 1. ii. 47, compared with v. 11, xii. 5, and xv. 4, of the same book.

2dly. The elders of the church are mentioned, Acts xi. 30, xv. 4. 6. 22, and xxi. 17, 18, of the same book.

3dly. The apostles did the ordinary acts of presbyters, as presbyters in that *kirk*; which proveth a presbyterial church before the dispersion. Acts vi.

4thly. The several congregations in Jerusalem being one church, the elders of that church are mentioned as meeting together for acts of government, Acts xi. 30. xv. 4. 6. 22, and xxi. 17, 18, and so forward: which proves that those several congregations were under one presbyterial government.

And whether these congregations were fixed, or not fixed, in regard of officers or members, it is all one as to the truth of the proposition.

Nor doth there appear any material difference betwixt the several congregations in Jerusalem, and the many congregations now in the ordinary condition of the church, as to the point of fixedness required of officers or members.

3. Thirdly. Therefore the Scripture doth hold forth, that many congregations may be under one presbyterial government.

II. Secondly. By the instance of the church of Ephesus; for,

1. That they were more congregations than one in the church of Ephesus, appears by Acts xx. 31, where is mention of Paul's continuance at Ephesus in preaching for the

space of three years; and Acts xix. 18—20, where the special effect of the word is mentioned; and verses 10 and 17 of the same chapter, where is a distinction of Jews and Greeks; and 1 Cor. xvi. 8, 9, where is a reason of Paul's stay at Ephesus until Pentecost; and verse 19, where is mention of a particular church in the house of Aquilla and Priscilla then at Ephesus; as appears, Acts xviii. 19. 24. 26. All which laid together doth prove, that the multitude of believers did make more congregations than one in the church of Ephesus.

2. That there were many elders over these many congregations, as one flock, appeareth Acts xx. 17. 25. 28. 30. 36, 37.

3. That these many congregations were one church, and that they were under one presbyterial government, appeareth Rev. ii. the first six verses, joined with Acts xx. 17, 18.

Of Synodical Assemblies.

The Scripture doth hold out another sort of assemblies, for the government of the church, beside classical and congregational, all which we call synodical, Acts xv. Pastors and teachers, and other church-governors (as also other fit persons, when it shall be deemed expedient), are members of those assemblies which we call synodical, where they have a lawful calling thereunto.

Synodical assemblies may lawfully be of several sorts, as provincial, national, and œcumenical.

It is lawful and agreeable to the word of God, that there be a subordination of congregational, classical, provincial, and national assemblies, for the government of the church.

OF THE ORDINATION OF MINISTERS.

Under the head of ordination of ministers is to be considered, either the doctrine of ordination, or the power of it.

Touching the Doctrine of Ordination.

No man ought to take upon him the office of a minister of the word, without a lawful calling. John iii. 27. Rom. x. 14, 15. Jer. xiv. 14. Heb. v. 4.

Ordination is always to be continued in the church. Tit. i. 5. 1 Tim. v. 21, 22.

Ordination is the solemn setting apart of a person to some public church-office. Numb. viii. 10, 11. 14. 19. 22. Acts vi. 3. 5, 6.

Every minister of the word is to be ordained by imposition of hands, and prayer, with fasting, by those preaching presbyters to whom it doth belong. 1 Tim. v. 22. Acts iv. 23, and xiii. 3.

It is agreeable to the word of God, and very expedient, that such as are to be ordained ministers, be designed to some particular church, or other ministerial charge. Acts xiv. 23. Tit. i. 5. Acts xx. 17. 28.

He that is to be ordained minister, must be duly qualified, both for life and ministerial abilities, according to the rules of the apostle. 1 Tim. iii. 2—6, and Tit. i. 5—9.

He is to be examined and approved by those by whom he is to be ordained. 1 Tim. iii. 7. 10, and v. 22.

No man is to be ordained a minister for a particular congregation, if they of that congregation can shew just cause of exception against him. 1 Tim. iii. 2. Tit, i. 7.

Touching the Power of Ordination.

Ordination is the act of a presbytery, 1 Tim. iv. 14. The power of ordering the whole work of ordination, is in the whole presbytery, which when it is over more congregations than one, whether those congregations be fixed or not fixed, in regard of officers or members, it is indifferent as to the point of ordination. 1 Tim. iv. 14.

It is very requisite that no single congregation, that can conveniently associate, do assume to itself all and sole power in ordination.

1. Because there is no example in Scripture, that any single congregation, which might conveniently associate, did assume to itself all and sole power in ordination; neither is there any rule which may warrant such a practice.

2. Because there is in Scripture, example of an ordination in a presbytery over divers congregations: as in the church of Jerusalem, where were many congregations, these many congregations were under one presbytery, and this presbytery did ordain.

The preaching presbyters orderly associated, either in cities or neighbouring villages, are those to whom the im-

position of hands doth appertain, for those congregations within their bounds respectively.

CONCERNING THE DOCTRINAL PART OF ORDINATION OF MINISTERS.

1. No man ought to take upon him the office of a minister of the word, without a lawful calling. John iii. 27. Rom. x. 14, 15. Jer. xiv. 14. Heb. v. 4.

2. Ordination is always to be continued in the church. Tit. i. 5. 1 Tim. v. 21, 22.

3. Ordination is the solemn setting apart of a person to some public church-office. Numb. viii. 10, 11. 14. 19. 22. Acts. vi. 3. 5, 6.

4. Every minister of the word is to be ordained by imposition of hands and prayer, with fasting, by those preaching presbyters to whom it doth belong. 1 Tim. v. 22. Acts xiv. 23. xiii. 3.

5. The power of ordering the whole work of ordination is in the whole presbytery, which, when it is over more congregations than one, whether those congregations be fixed or not fixed, in regard of officers or members, it is indifferent as to the point of ordination. 1 Tim. iv. 14.

6. It is agreeable to the word, and very expedient, that such as are to be ordained ministers, be designed to some particular church, or other ministerial charge. Acts xiv. 23. Tit. i. 5. Acts xx. 17, 28.

He that is to be ordained minister, must be duly qualified, both for life and ministerial abilities, according to the rules of the apostle. 1 Tim. iii. 2—6. Tit. i. 5—9.

8. He is to be examined and approved of by those by whom he is to be ordained. 1 Tim. iii. 7. 10. v. 22.

9. No man is to be ordained a minister for a particular congregation, if they of that congregation can shew just cause of exception against him. 1 Tim. iii. 2. Tit. i. 7.

10. Preaching presbyters orderly associated, either in cities or neighbouring villages, are those to whom the imposition of hands do appertain, for those congregations within their bounds respectively. 1 Tim. iv. 14.

11. In extraordinary cases, something extraordinary may be done, until a settled order may be had, yet keeping as

near as possible may be to the rule. 2 Chron. xxix. 34—36. xxx. 2—5.

12. There is at this time (as we humbly conceive) an extraordinary occasion for a way of ordination for the present supply of ministers.

The Directory for the Ordination of Ministers.

It being manifest, by the word of God, that no man ought to take upon him the office of a minister of the gospel, until he be lawfully called and ordained thereunto; and that the work of ordination is to be performed with all due care, wisdom, gravity, and solemnity; we humbly tender these directions as requisite to be observed.

1. He that is to be ordained, being either nominated by the people, or otherwise commended to the presbytery for any place, must address himself to the presbytery, and bring with him a testimonial of his taking the covenant of the three kingdoms; of his diligence and proficiency in his studies; what degrees he hath taken in the university, and what hath been the time of his abode there; and withal of his age, which is to be twenty-four years; but especially of his life and conversation.

2. Which being considered by the presbytery, they are to proceed to inquire touching the grace of God in him, and whether he be of such holiness of life as is requisite in a minister of the gospel; and to examine him touching his learning and sufficiency, and touching the evidences of his calling to the holy ministry, and in particular, his fair and direct calling to that place.

THE RULES FOR EXAMINATION ARE THESE.

1. That the party examined be dealt withal in a brotherly way, with mildness of spirit, and with special respect to the gravity, modesty, and quality, of every one.

2. He shall be examined touching his skill in the original tongues, and his trial to be made by reading the Hebrew and Greek Testaments, and rendering some portion of some into Latin; and if he be defective in them, inquiry shall be made more strictly after his other learning, and whether he hath skill in logic and philosophy.

3. What authors in divinity he hath read, and is best acquainted with. And trial shall be made in his knowledge

of the grounds of religion, and of his ability to defend the orthodox doctrine contained in them, against all unsound and erroneous opinions, especially those of the present age; of his skill in the sense and meaning of such places of Scripture as shall be proposed unto him, in cases of conscience, and in the chronology of the Scripture, and the ecclesiastical history.

4. If he hath not before preached in public, with approbation of such as are able to judge, he shall, at a competent time assigned him, expound before the presbytery such a place of Scripture as shall be given him.

5. He shall also, within a competent time, frame a discourse in Latin, upon such a common-place or controversy in divinity as shall be assigned him, and exhibit to the presbytery such theses as express the sum thereof, and maintain a dispute upon them.

6. He shall preach before the people, the presbytery, or some of the ministry of the word appointed by them, being present.

7. The proportion of his gifts, in relation to the place unto which he is called, shall be considered.

8. Beside the trial of his gifts in preaching, he shall undergo an examination in the premises two several days, and more, if the presbytery shall judge it necessary.

9. And as for him that hath formerly been ordained a minister, and is to be removed to another charge, he shall bring a testimonial of his ordination, and of his abilities and conversation, whereupon his fitness for that place shall be tried by his preaching there (if it shall be judged necessary) by a farther examination of him.

3. In all which he being approved, he is to be sent to the church where he is to serve, there to preach three several days, and to converse with the people, that they may have trial of his gifts for their edification, and may have time and occasion to inquire into, and the better to know his life and conversation.

4. In the last of these three days appointed for the trial of his gifts in preaching, there shall be sent from the presbytery to the congregation, a public intimation in writing, which shall be publicly read before the people, and after affixed to the church-door, to signify that such a day, a

competent number of the members of that congregation, nominated by themselves, shall appear before the presbytery, to give their consent and approbation to such a man to be their minister; or otherwise to put in, with all Christian discretion and meekness, what exceptions they have against him; and if, upon the day appointed, there be no just exception against him, but the people give their consent, then the presbytery shall proceed to ordination.

5. Upon the day appointed for ordination, which is to be performed in that church, where he that is to be ordained is to serve, a solemn fast shall be kept by the congregation, that they may the more earnestly join in prayer for a blessing upon the ordinance of Christ, and the labours of his servant for their good. The presbytery shall come to the place, or at least three or four ministers of the word shall be sent thither from the presbytery; of which one, appointed by the presbytery, shall preach to the people concerning the office and duty of ministers of Christ, and how the people ought to receive them for their work's sake.

6. After the sermon, the minister who hath preached shall, in the face of the congregation, demand of him who is now to be ordained, concerning his faith in Christ Jesus, and his persuasion of the truth of the reformed religion according to the Scripture; his sincere intentions and ends in desiring to enter into this calling; his diligence in prayer, reading, meditation, preaching, ministering the sacraments, discipline, and doing all ministerial duties towards his charge; his zeal and faithfulness in maintaining the truth of the gospel, and unity of the church against error and schism; his care that himself and his family may be unblamable, and examples to the flock; his willingness and humility, in meekness of spirit, to submit unto the admonitions of his brethren and discipline of the church; and his resolution to continue in his duty against all trouble and persecution.

7. In all which having declared himself, professed his willingness, and promised his endeavours, by the help of God; the minister likewise shall demand of the people, concerning their willingness to receive and acknowledge him as the minister of Christ; and to obey, and submit unto him, as having rule over them in the Lord; and to maintain, encourage, and assist, him in all the parts of his office.

8. Which being mutually promised by the people, the

presbytery, or the ministers sent from them for ordination, shall solemnly set him apart to the office and work of the ministry, by laying their hands on him, which is to be accompanied with a short prayer or blessing, to this effect:

"Thankfully acknowledging the great mercy of God, in sending Jesus Christ for the redemption of his people; and for his ascension to the right hand of God the Father, and thence pouring out his Spirit, and giving gifts to men, apostles, evangelists, prophets, pastors, and teachers, for the gathering and building up of his church; and for fitting and inclining this man to this great work;* to entreat him to fit him with his Holy Spirit, to give him (who in his name we thus set apart to this holy service) to fulfil the work of his ministry in all things, that he may both save himself, and his people committed to his charge."

9. This, or the like form of prayer and blessing being ended, let the minister who preached briefly exhort him, to consider of the greatness of his office and work, the danger of negligence both to himself and his people, the blessing which will accompany his faithfulness in this life, and that to come; and withal exhort the people to carry themselves to him, as to their minister in the Lord, according to their solemn promise made before; and so by prayer commending both him and his flock to the grace of God, after singing of a psalm, let the assembly be dismissed with a blessing.

10. If a minister be designed to a congregation who hath been formerly ordained presbyter, according to the form or ordination which hath been in the church of England, which we hold for substance to be valid, and not to be disclaimed by any who have received it; then there being a cautious proceeding in matters of examination, let him be admitted without any new ordination.

11. And in case any person already ordained minister in Scotland, or in any other reformed church, be designed to another congregation in England, he is to bring from that church to the presbytery here, within which that congregation is, a sufficient testimonial of his ordination, of his life and conversation while he lived with them, and of the causes of his removal; and to undergo such a trial of his fitness and sufficiency, and to have the same course held with him

* Here let them impose hands on his head.

in other particulars, as is set down in the rule immediately going before, touching examination and admission.

12. That records be carefully kept in the several presbyteries, of the names of the persons ordained, with their testimonials, the time and place of their ordination, of the presbyters who did impose hands upon them, and of the charge to which they are appointed.

13. That no money or gift of what kind soever shall be received from the person to be ordained, or from any on his behalf, for ordination, or aught else belonging to it, by any of the presbytery, or any appertaining to any of them, upon what pretence soever.

Thus far of ordinary rules, and course of ordination in the ordinary way; that which concerns the extraordinary way, requisite to be now practised, followeth.

1. In these present exigencies, while we cannot have any presbyteries formed up to their whole power and work, and that many ministers are to be ordained for the service of the armies and navy, and to many congregations where there is no minister at all; and where (by reason of the public troubles) the people cannot either themselves inquire, and find out one who may be a faithful minister for them, or have any with safety sent unto them, for such a solemn trial as was before mentioned in the ordinary rules, especially when there can be no presbytery near unto them, to whom they may address themselves, or which may come or send to them a fit man to be ordained in that congregation, and for that people; and yet, notwithstanding, it is requisite that ministers be ordained for them, by some, who being set apart themselves for the work of the ministry, have power to join in the setting apart others who are found fit and worthy. In those cases, until, by God's blessing, the aforesaid difficulties may be in some good measure removed, let some godly ministers, in or about the city of London, be designed by public authority, who, being associated, may ordain ministers for the city and the vicinity, keeping as near to the ordinary rules forementioned as possibly they may; and let this association be for no other intent or purpose but only for the work of ordination.

2. Let the like association be made by the same authority in great towns, and the neighbouring parishes in the several

counties, which are at the present quiet and undisturbed, to do the like for the parts adjacent.

3. Let such as are chosen, or appointed for the service of the armies or navy, be ordained as aforesaid, by the associated ministers of London, or some others in the country.

4. Let them do the like when any man shall duly and lawfully be recommended to them for the ministry of any congregation, who cannot enjoy liberty to have a trial of his parts and abilities, and desire the help of such ministers so associated, for the better furnishing of them with such a person, as by them shall be judged fit for the service of that church and people.

THE CONTENTS OF THE FORM OF PRESBYTERIAL CHURCH-GOVERNMENT.

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No. X.

The Assembly's Declaration of the Falsehood and Forgery of a lying scandalous Pamphlet, put forth under the Name of their Reverend Brother Master Alexander Henderson, after his Death.

THE general assembly of this kirk having seen a printed paper, entitled, "The Declaration of Mr. Alexander Henderson, principal minister of the word of God at Edinburgh,

and chief-commissioner for the kirk of Scotland to the parliament and synod of England, made upon his death-bed; and taking into their serious consideration how many gross lies and impudent calumnies are therein contained; out of the tender respect which they do bear to his name (which ought to be very precious to them and all posterity, for his faithful service in the great work of reformation in these kingdoms, wherein the Lord was pleased to make him eminently instrumental); and lest through the malice of some, and ignorance of others, the said pamphlet should gain belief among the weaker sort, they have thought fit to make known and declare, concerning the same, as followeth:

That, after due search and trial, they do find, that their worthy brother Master Alexander Henderson did, from the time of his coming from London to Newcastle, till the last moment of his departure out of this life, upon all occasions manifest the constancy of his judgment touching the work of reformation in these kingdoms; namely, in all his discourses and conferences with his majesty, and with his brethren, who were employed with him in the same trust at Newcastle: in his letters to the commissioners at London, and particularly in his last discourse to his majesty, at his departing from Newcastle, being very weak, and greatly decayed in his natural strength. When he was come from Newcastle by sea to this kingdom, he was in such a weak, worn, and failed condition, as it was evident to all who saw him, that he was not able to frame any such declaration: for he was so spent, that he died within eight days after his arrival; and all that he was able to speak in that time, did clearly shew his judgment of, and affection to, the work of reformation, and cause of God, to be every way the same then that it was in the beginning and progress thereof; as divers reverend brethren, who visited him, have declared to this assembly, and particularly two brethren who constantly attended him from the time he came home till his breath expired. A farther testimony may be brought from a short confession of faith under his hand, found amongst his papers, which is expressed as his last words, wherein, among other mercies, he declareth himself most of all obliged to the care and goodness of God, for calling him to believe the promises of the gospel, and for exalting him to be a preacher of them to others; and to be a willing, though

a weak instrument in this great and wonderful work of reformation, which he earnestly beseeched the Lord to bring to a happy conclusion. Other reasons may be added from the levity of the style, and manifest absurdities contained in that paper. Upon consideration of all which, this assembly doth condemn the said pamphlet as forged, scandalous, and false. And farther declare the author and contriver of the same, to be void of charity and a good conscience, and a gross liar and calumniator, led by the spirit of the accuser of the brethren.

August 7, 1648. Ante meridiem. Sess. 31.

No. XI.

A Confession of Faith of Seven Congregations, or Churches of Christ in London, which are commonly but unjustly called Anabaptists; published for the Vindication of the Truth, and Information of the Ignorant: likewise for the taking off those Aspersions, which are frequently, both in Pulpit and Print, unjustly cast upon them. Printed at London, Anno 1646.

I. The Lord our God is but one God, whose subsistence is in himself; whose essence cannot be comprehended by any but himself; who only hath immortality, dwelling in the light which no man can approach unto; who is in himself most holy, every way infinite, in greatness, wisdom, power, love; merciful and gracious, long-suffering, and abundant in goodness and truth: who giveth being, moving, and preservation, to all creatures.*

II. In this divine and infinite Being there is the Father, the Word, and the Holy Spirit; each having the whole divine essence, yet the essence undivided; all infinite without any beginning, therefore but one God; who is not to be divided in nature and being, but distinguished by several peculiar relative properties.†

III. God hath decreed in himself, before the world was,

* 1 Cor. viii. 6. Isa. xliv. 6; and xlvi. 9. Exod. iii. 14. 1 Tim. vi. 16. Isa. xliii. 15. Psalm cxlvii. 5. Deut. xxxii. 3. Job xxxvi. 5. Jer. x. 12. Exod. xxxiv. 6, 7. Acts xvii. 28. Rom. xi. 36.

† 1 Cor. i. 3. John. i. 1; and xv. 26. Exod. iii. 14. 1 Cor. viii. 6.

concerning all things, whether necessary, accidental, or voluntary, with all the circumstances of them, to work, dispose, and bring about, all things according to the counsel of his own will, to his glory (yet without being the author of sin, or having fellowship with any therein): in which appears his wisdom in disposing all things, unchangeableness, power, and faithfulness in accomplishing his decree: and God hath, before the foundation of the world, foreordained some men to eternal life, through Jesus Christ, to the praise and glory of his grace: leaving the rest in their sin, to their just condemnation, to the praise of his justice.*

IV. In the beginning God made all things very good: created man after his own image, filled with all meet perfection of nature, and free from all sin: but long he abode not in this honour; Satan using the subtlety of the serpent to seduce first Eve, then by her seducing Adam; who, without any compulsion, in eating the forbidden fruit, transgressed the command of God, and fell, whereby death came upon all his posterity: who now are conceived in sin, and by nature the children of wrath, the servants of sin, the subjects of death, and other miseries in this world, and for ever, unless the Lord Jesus Christ set them free.†

V. God, in his infinite power and wisdom, doth dispose all things to the end for which they were created; that neither good nor evil befals any by chance, or without his providence; and that whatsoever befals the elect, is by his appointment, for his glory, and their good.‡

VI. All the elect, being loved of God with an everlasting love, are redeemed, quickened, and saved, not by themselves, nor their own works, lest any man should boast, but only and wholly by God, of his free grace and mercy, through Jesus Christ, who is made unto us by God, wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption, and all in all, that he that rejoiceth might rejoice in the Lord.§

* Isa. xlvi. 10. Eph. i. 11. Rom. xi. 33. Psalm xxxiii. 15; cxv. 3; cxxxv. 6; and cxliv. 1 Sam. x. 9. 26. Prov. xvi. 4. 33; and xxi. 6. Exod. xxi. 13. Isa. xlv. 7. Matt. vi. 28. 30. Col. i. 16, 17. Numb. xxiii. 19, 20. Rom. iii. 4. Jer. x. 10; xiv. 22. Eph. i. 4, 5. Jude 4. 6.

† Gen. i. 1; and iii. 1. 4, 5. Col. i. 16. Isa. xlv. 12. 1 Cor. xv. 45. 46. Eccles. vii. 29. 2 Cor. xi. 3. 1 Tim. ii. 14. Gal. iii. 22. Rom. v. 12; vi. 22; and xviii. 19. Eph. ii. 3.

‡ Job xxxviii. 11. Isa. xlvi. 10, 11. Eccles. iii. 14. Mark x. 29, 30. Exod. xxi. 13. Prov. xvi. 33. Rom. viii. 28.

§ Jer. xxiii. 6; and xxxi. 2. Eph. i. 3. 7; and ii. 8, 9. 1 Thess. v. 9. Acts xiii. 38. 2 Cor. v. 21. Jer. ix. 23, 24. 1 Cor. i. 30, 31.

VII. And this is life eternal, that we might know him the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom he hath sent. And on the contrary, the Lord will render vengeance, in flaming fire, to them that know not God, and obey not the gospel of Jesus Christ.*

VIII. The rule of this knowledge, faith, and obedience, concerning the worship of God, in which is contained the whole duty of man, is (not men's laws, or unwritten traditions, but) only the word of God contained in the Holy Scriptures; in which is plainly recorded whatsoever is needful for us to know, believe, and practise; which are the only rule of holiness and obedience for all saints, at all times, in all places, to be observed.†

IX. The Lord Jesus Christ, of whom Moses and the prophets wrote, the apostles preached, he is the Son of God, the brightness of his glory, &c. by whom he made the world; who upholdeth and governeth all things that he hath made; who also, when the fulness of time was come, was made of a woman, of the tribe of Judah, of the seed of Abraham and David; to wit, of the Virgin Mary, the Holy Spirit coming down upon her, the power of the Most High overshadowing her; and he was also tempted as we are, yet without sin.‡

X. Jesus Christ is made the mediator of the new and everlasting covenant of grace between God and man, ever to be perfectly and fully the prophet, priest, and king, of the church of God for evermore.§

XI. Unto this office he was appointed by God from everlasting; and in respect of his manhood, from the womb called, separated, and anointed, most fully and abundantly with all gifts necessary, God having without measure poured out his Spirit upon him.‖

XII. Concerning his mediatorship, the Scripture holds forth Christ's call to his office; for none takes this honour upon him, but he that is called of God, as was Aaron, it

* John vi. 36; and xvii. 3. Heb. v. 9. 1 Thess. i. 8.

† Col. ii. 23. Matt. xv. 9. 6. John v. 39. 2 Tim. iii. 15—17. Isa. viii. 20. Gal. i. 8, 9. Acts iii. 22, 23.

‡ Gen. iii. 15; xxii. 18; and xlix. 9, 10. Dan. vii. 13; and ix. 24, &c. Prov. viii. 23. John i. 1—3. Heb. i. 8; ii. 16; iv. 15; and vii. 14. Gal. iv. 4. Rev. v. 1. Rom. i. 3; and ix. 10. Matt. i. 16. Luke iii. 23. 26. Isa. liii. 3—5.

§ 1 Tim. ii. 5. Heb. ix. 15. John xiv. 6. Isa. ix. 6, 7.

‖ Prov. viii. 23. Isa. xi. 2—5. xlii. 6; xlix. 15; and lxi. 1, 2. Luke iv. 17. 22. John i. 14. 26; and iii. 34.

being an action of God, whereby a special promise being made, he ordains his Son to this office; which promise is, that Christ should be made a sacrifice for sin; that he should see his seed, and prolong his days, and the pleasure of the Lord shall prosper in his hand; all of mere free and absolute grace towards God's elect, and without any condition foreseen in them to procure it.*

XIII. This office to be mediator, that is, to be prophet, priest, and king, of the church of God, is so proper to Christ, that neither in whole, or any part thereof, it cannot be transferred from him to any other.†

XIV. This office, to which Christ is called, is threefold; a prophet, priest, and king: this number and order of offices is necessary, for in respect of our ignorance, we stand in need of his prophetical office; and in respect of our great alienation from God, we need his priestly office to reconcile us; and in respect of our averseness and utter inability to return to God, we need his kingly office, to convince, subdue, draw, uphold, and preserve, us to his heavenly kingdom.‡

XV. Concerning the prophecy of Christ, it is that whereby he hath revealed the will of God, whatsoever is needful for his servants to know and obey; and therefore he is called not only a prophet and doctor, and the apostle of our profession, and the angel of the covenant, but also the very wisdom of God, in whom are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge, who for ever continueth revealing the same truth of the gospel to his people.§

XVI. That he might be a prophet every way complete, it was necessary he should be God, and also that he should be man: for unless he had been God, he could never have perfectly understood the will of God; and unless he had been man, he could not suitably have unfolded it in his own person to men.‖

That Jesus Christ is God, is wonderful clearly expressed in the Scriptures. He is called the mighty God, Isa. ix. 6. That Word was God, John i. 1. Christ, who is God over

* Heb. v. 4—6. Isa. liii. 10, 11. John iii. 16. Rom. viii. 32.

† 1 Tim. ii. 5. Heb. vii. 24. Dan. vii. 14. Acts iv. 12. Luke i. 33. John xiv. 6.

‡ Deut. viii. 15. Acts iii. 22, 23; and xxvi. 18. Heb. iii. 3; and iv. 14, 15. Psalm ii. 6. 2 Cor. v. 20. Col. i. 21. John xvi. 8. Psalm cx. 3. Cant. i. 3. John vi. 44. Phil. iv. 13. 2 Tim. iv. 18.

§ John i. 18; xii. 49, 50; and xvii. 8. Matt. xxiii. 10. Deut. xviii. 15. Heb. iii. 1. Gal. iii. 1. 1 Cor. i. 24. Col. ii. 3. Mal. iii. 2.

‖ John i. 18. Acts iii. 22. Deut. xviii. 15. Heb. i. 1.

all, Rom. ix. 5. God manifested in the flesh, I Tim. iii. 16. The same is very God, John v. 20. He is the first, Rev. i. 8. He gives being to all things, and without him was nothing made, John i. 2. He forgiveth sins, Matt. ix. 6. He is before Abraham, John viii. 58. He was, and is, and ever will be the same, Heb. xiii. 8. He is always with his to the end of the world, Matt. xxviii. 20. Which could not be said of Jesus Christ, if he were not God. And to the Son he saith, Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever, Heb. i. 8. John i. 18.

Also, Christ is not only perfectly God, but perfect man, made of a woman, Gal. iv. 4. Made of the seed of David, Rom. i. 3. Coming out of the loins of David, Acts ii. 30. Of Jesse and Judah, Acts xiii. 23. In that the children were partakers of flesh and blood, he himself likewise took part with them, Heb. ii. 14. He took not on him the nature of angels, but the seed of Abraham, ver. 16. So that we are bone of his bone, and flesh of his flesh, Eph. v. 30. So that he that sanctifieth, and they that are sanctified, are all of one, Heb. ii. 11. See Acts iii. 22. Deut. xviii. 15. Heb. i. 1.

XVII. Concerning his priesthood, Christ, having sanctified himself, hath appeared once to put away sin by that one offering of himself a sacrifice for sin, by which he hath fully finished and suffered all things God required for the salvation of his elect, and removed all rites and shadows, &c. and is now entered within the veil into the holy of holies, which is the presence of God. Also, he makes his people a spiritual house, a holy priesthood, to offer up spiritual sacrifice acceptable to God through him. Neither doth the Father accept, or Christ offer to the Father, any other worship or worshippers.*

XVIII. This priesthood was not legal or temporary, but according to the order of Melchisedeck, and is stable and perfect, not for a time, but for ever, which is suitable to Jesus Christ, as to him that ever liveth. Christ was the priest, sacrifice, and altar; he was a priest according to both natures; he was a sacrifice according to his human nature; whence in Scripture it is attributed to his body, to his blood; yet the effectualness of this sacrifice did depend

* John xvii. 19. Heb. v. 7—10. 12. Rom. v. 19. Eph. v. 2. Col. i. 20. Eph. ii. 14, &c. Rom. viii. 34. Heb. viii. 1; and ix. 24. 1 Pet. ii. 5. John iv. 23, 24.

upon his divine nature; therefore it is called the blood of God. He was the altar according to his divine nature, it belonging to the altar to sanctify that which is offered upon it, and so it ought to be of greater dignity than the sacrifice itself.*

XIX. Concerning his kingly office, Christ being risen from the dead, and ascended into heaven, and having all power in heaven and earth, he doth spiritually govern his church, and doth exercise his power over all, angels and men, good and bad, to the preservation and salvation of the elect, and to the overruling and destruction of his enemies. By this kingly power he applieth the benefits, virtue, and fruits, of his prophecy and priesthood to his elect, subduing their sins, preserving and strengthening them in all their conflicts against Satan, the world, and the flesh, keeping their hearts in faith and filial fear by his Spirit: by this his mighty power he ruleth the vessels of wrath, using, limiting, and restraining them, as it seems good to his infinite wisdom.†

XX. This his kingly power shall be more fully manifested when he shall come in glory to reign among his saints, when he shall put down all rule and authority under his feet, that the glory of the Father may be perfectly manifested in his Son, and the glory of the Father and the Son in all his members.‡

XXI. Jesus Christ by his death did purchase salvation for the elect that God gave unto him; these only have interest in him, and fellowship with him, for whom he makes intercession to his Father in their behalf, and to them alone doth God by his Spirit apply this redemption; as also the free gift of eternal life is given to them, and none else.§

XXII. Faith is the gift of God, wrought in the hearts of the elect by the Spirit of God; by which faith they come to know and believe the truth of the Scriptures, and the excellency of them above all other writings, and all things

* Heb. v. 6; vii. 16, &c.; ix. 13, 14; x. 10; and xiii. 10. 12. 15. 1 Pet. i. 18, 19. Col. i. 20. 22. Acts xx. 28. Matt. xxiii. 17. John xvii. 19.

† 1 Cor. xv. 4. 1 Pet. iii. 21, 22. Matt. xxviii. 18, 19. Luke xxiv. 51. Acts i. 1; and v. 30, 31. John v. 26, 27; xix. 36; and xvi. 15. Rom. i. 21; v. 6—8; xiv. 9. 17; and xvii. 18. Gal. v. 22, 23. Mark i. 27. Heb. i. 14. Job ii. 8; and xvii. 18. Eph. iv. 17, 18. 2 Pet. ii.

‡ 1 Cor. xv. 24. 28. Heb. ix. 28. 1 Thess. iv. 15—17. 2 Thess. i. 9, 10. John xii. 21. 26.

§ Eph. i. 14. Heb. v. 9; and vii. 25. Matt. i. 21. John xvii. 6. 1 Cor. ii. 12. Rom. viii. 29, 30. 1 John v. 12. John xv. 13; and iii. 16.

in the world, as they hold forth the glory of God in his attributes, the excellency of Christ in his nature and offices, and of the power and fulness of the Spirit in his workings and operations; and so are enabled to cast their souls upon this truth thus believed.*

XXIII. All those that have this precious faith wrought in them by the Spirit, can never finally nor totally fall away; seeing the gifts of God are without repentance; so that he still begets and nourisheth in them faith, repentance, love, joy, hope, and all the graces of the Spirit, unto immortality; and though many storms and floods arise, and beat against them, yet they shall never be able to take them off that foundation and rock, which by faith they are fastened upon; notwithstanding, through unbelief, and the temptations of Satan, the sensible sight of this light and love be clouded and overwhelmed for a time; yet God is still the same, and they shall be sure to be kept by the power of God unto salvation, where they shall enjoy their purchased possession, they being engraved upon the palms of his hands, and their names having been written in the book of life from all eternity.†

XXIV. Faith is ordinarily begotten by the preaching of the gospel, or word of Christ, without respect to any power or agency in the creature; but it being wholly passive, and dead in trespasses and sins, doth believe and is converted by no less power than that which raised Christ from the dead.‡

XXV. The preaching of the gospel to the conversion of sinners, is absolutely free; no way requiring, as absolutely necessary, any qualifications, preparations, or terrors of the law, or preceding ministry of the law, but only and alone the naked soul, a sinner, and ungodly, to receive Christ crucified, dead, and buried, and risen again; who is made a prince and saviour for such sinners as through the gospel shall be brought to believe on him.§

XXVI. The same power that converts to faith in Christ,

* Eph. ii. 8. John iv. 10; vi. 29. 63; and xvii. 17. Phil. i. 29. Gal. v. Heb. iv. 11, 12.

† Matt. vii. 24, 25. John xiii. 10; and x. 28, 29. 1 Pet. i. 4—6. Isa. xlix. 13—16.

‡ Rom. x. 17. 1 Cor. i. 28. Rom. i. 16; iii. 12; and ix. 16. Ezek. xvi. 16. Eph. i. 19. Col. ii. 12.

§ John i. 12; and iii. 14, 15. Isa. lv. 1. John vii. 37. 1 Tim. i. 15. Rom. iv. 5; and v. 8. Acts v. 30, 31; and ii. 36. 1 Cor. i. 22. 24.

carrieth on the soul through all duties, temptations, conflicts, sufferings; and whatsoever a believer is, he is by grace, and is carried on in all obedience and temptations by the same.*

XXVII. All believers are by Christ united to God; by which union, God is one with them, and they are one with him; and that all believers are the sons of God, and joint heirs with Christ, to whom belong all the promises of this life, and that which is to come.†

XXVIII. Those that have union with Christ, are justified from all their sins by the blood of Christ, which justification is a gracious and full acquittance of a guilty sinner from all sin, by God, through the satisfaction that Christ hath made by his death for all their sins, and this applied (in the manifestation of it) through faith.‡

XXIX. All believers are a holy and sanctified people, and that sanctification is a spiritual grace of the new covenant, and an effect of the love of God manifested in the soul, whereby the believer presseth after a heavenly and evangelical obedience to all the commands which Christ, as head and king in his new covenant, hath prescribed to them.§

XXX. All believers, through the knowledge of that justification of life given by the Father, and brought forth by the blood of Christ, have, as their great privilege of that new covenant, peace with God, and reconciliation, whereby they that were afar off are made nigh by that blood, and have peace passing all understanding; yea, joy in God through our Lord Jesus Christ, by whom we have received the atonement.‖

XXXI. All believers, in the time of this life, are in a continual warfare and combat against sin, self, the world, and the devil; and are liable to all manner of afflictions, tribulations, and persecutions, being predestinated and appointed thereunto; and whatsoever the saints possess or

* 1 Pet. i. 5. 1 Cor. xv. 10. 2 Cor. xii. 9. Phil. ii. 12, 13. John xv. 5. Gal. ii. 19, 20.

† 1 Thess. i. 1. John xvii. 21; and xx. 17. Heb. ii. 11. 1 John iv. 16. Gal. ii. 19, 20.

‡ 1 John i. 7. Heb. x. 14; and ix. 26. 2 Cor. v. 19. Rom. iii. 23. 25. 30; and v. 1. Acts xiii. 38, 39.

§ 1 Cor. xii. 1 Pet. ii. 9. Eph. i. 4. 1 John iv. 16. Matt. xxviii. 20.

‖ 2 Cor. v. 19. Rom. v. 9, 10. Isa. xx; and liv. 10. Eph. ii. 13, 14; and iv. 7. Rom. v. 10, 11.

enjoy of God spiritually, is by faith; and outward and temporal things are lawfully enjoyed by a civil right by them who have no faith.*

XXXII. The only strength by which the saints are enabled to encounter with all oppositions and trials, is only by Jesus Christ, who is the captain of their salvation, being made perfect through sufferings; who *hath engaged* his faithfulness and strength to assist them *in* all their afflictions, and to uphold them *in all their* temptations, and to preserve them by his power to his everlasting kingdom.†

XXXIII. Jesus Christ hath here on earth a spiritual kingdom, which is his church, whom he hath purchased and redeemed to himself as a peculiar inheritance; which church is a company of visible saints, called and separated from the world by the word and Spirit of God, to the visible profession of the faith of the gospel, being baptized into that faith, and joined to the Lord, and each to other, by mutual agreement in the practical enjoyment of the ordinances commanded by Christ their head and king.‡

XXXIV. To this church he hath made his promises, and giveth the signs of his covenant, presence, acceptation, love, blessing, and protection. Here are the fountains and springs of his heavenly graces flowing forth to refresh and strengthen them.§

XXXV. And all his servants of all estates are to acknowledge him to be their prophet, priest, and king; and called thither to be enrolled among his household servants, to present their bodies and souls, and to bring their gifts God hath given them, to be under his heavenly conduct and government, to lead their lives in this walled sheepfold, and watered garden, to have communion here with his saints, that they may be assured that they are made meet to be partakers of their inheritance in the kingdom of God; and to supply each other's wants, inward and outward (and although each person hath a property in his own estate, yet they are to supply each other's wants, according as their

* Rom. vii. 23, 24; and viii. 29. Eph. vi. 10, 11, &c. Heb. ii. 9, 10. 2 Tim. iii. 13. 1 Thess. iii. 3. Gal. ii. 19, 20. 2 Cor. v. 7. Deut. ii. 5.

† John xv. 5; and xvi. 33. Phil. iv. 11. Heb. ii. 9, 10. 2 Tim. iv. 18.

‡ Matt. xi. 11; xviii. 19, 20. 2 Thess. i. 1. 1 Cor. i. 2. Eph. i. 1. Rom. i. 7. Acts xix. 8, 9; and xxvi. 18. 2 Cor. vi. 17. Rev. xviii. 4. Acts ii. 37. 42; ix. 26; and x. 37. Rom. x. 10. 1 Pet. ii. 5.

§ Matt. xxviii. 18, &c. † Cor. iii. 21; and xi. 24. 2 Cor. vi. 18. Rom. ix. 4, 5. Psalm cxxxiii. 3. Rom. iii. 7. 10. Ezek. xlvii. 2.

necessities shall require, that the name of Jesus Christ may not be blasphemed through the necessity of any in the church); and also being come, they are here by himself to be bestowed in their several order, due place, peculiar use, being fitly compact and knit together, according to the effectual working of every part, to the edifying of itself in love.*

XXXVI. Being thus joined, every church hath power given them from Christ, for their well-being, to choose among themselves meet persons for elders and deacons, being qualified according to the word, as those which Christ hath appointed in his Testament, for the feeding, governing, serving, and building up, of his church: and that none have any power to impose on them either these or any other.†

XXXVII. That the ministers lawfully called, as aforesaid, ought to continue in their calling and place, according to God's ordinance, and carefully to feed the flock of God committed to them, not for filthy lucre, but of a ready mind.‡

XXXVIII. The ministers of Christ ought to have whatsoever they shall need, supplied freely by the church, that, according to Christ's ordinances, they that preach the gospel should live of the gospel by the law of Christ.§

XXXIX. Baptism is an ordinance of the New Testament, given by Christ, to be dispensed upon persons professing faith, or that are made disciples; who, upon profession of faith, ought to be baptized, and after to partake of the Lord's supper.‖

XL. That the way and manner of the dispensing this ordinance, is dipping or plunging the body under water; it being a sign, must answer the things signified, which is, that interest the saints have in the death, burial, and resurrection, of Christ: and that as certainly as the body is buried under water, and risen again; so certainly shall the

* Acts ii. 41. 44, 45. 47. Isa. iv. 3. 1 Cor. xii. 6, 7, &c. Ezek. xx. 37. 40. Cant. iv. 12. Eph. ii. 19. Rom. xii. 4—6. Col. i. 12; and ii. 5, 6. 19. Acts iv. 34, 35; v. 4; and xx. 32. Luke xiv. 26. 1 Tim. vi. 1. Eph. iv. 16.

† Acts i. 23. 26; vi. 3; and xv. 22. 25. Rom. xii. 7, 8. 1 Tim. iii. 2. 6, 7. 1 Cor. xii. 8. 28. Heb. xiii. 7. 17. 1 Pet. v. 1—3; and iv. 15.

‡ Heb. v. 4. John x. 3, 4. Acts xx. 28, 29. Rom. xii. 7. 8. Heb. xiii. 7. 17. 1 Pet. v. 1—3.

§ 1 Cor. ix. 7. 14. Gal. vi. 8. Phil. iv. 15, 16. 2 Cor. x. 4. 1 Tim. i. 2. Psalm cx. 3.

‖ Matt. xxviii. 18, 19. John iv. 1. Mark xvi. 15, 16. Acts ii. 37, 38; and viii. 36, 37, &c.

bodies of the saints be raised by the power of Christ, in the day of the resurrection, to reign with Christ.*

The word *baptizo* signifies to dip or plunge (yet so as convenient garments be both upon the administrator and subject with all modesty).

XLI. The person designed by Christ to dispense baptism, the Scripture holds forth to be a disciple; it being no where tied to a particular church-officer, or person extraordinarily sent, the commission enjoining the administration being given to them as considered disciples, being men able to preach the gospel.†

XLII. Christ hath likewise given power to his church to receive in, and cast out, any member that deserves it; and this power is given to every congregation, and not to one particular person, either member or officer, but in relation to the whole body, in reference to their faith and fellowship.‡

XLIII. And every particular member of each church, how excellent, great, or learned soever, is subject to this censure and judgment; and that the church ought not without great care and tenderness, and due advice, but by the rule of faith, to proceed against her members.§

XLIV. Christ, for the keeping of this church in holy and orderly communion, placeth some special men over the church; who, by their office, are to govern, oversee, visit, watch; so likewise for the better keeping thereof, in all places by the members, he hath given authority, and laid duty upon all to watch over one another.‖

XLV. Also such, to whom God hath given gifts in the church, may and ought to prophesy, according to the proportion of faith, and so to teach publicly the word of God, for the edification, exhortation, and comfort, of the church.¶

XLVI. Thus, being rightly gathered, and continuing in the obedience of the gospel of Christ, none are to separate

* Matt. iii. 6. 16. Mark xv. 9, reads [into Jordan] in Greek. John iii. 23. Acts viii. 38. Rev. i. 5; and vii. 14. Heb. x. 22. Rom. vi. 3—6. 1 Cor. xv. 28, 29.

† Isa. viii. 16. Eph. ii. 7. Matt. xxviii. 19. John iv. 2. Acts xx. 7; and xi. 10. 1 Cor. xi. 2; and x. 16, 17. Rom. xvi. 2. Matt. xviii. 17.

‡ Rom. xvi. 2. Matt. xviii. 17. 1 Cor. v. 4. 11. 13; xii. 6; and ii. 3. 2 Cor. ii. 6, 7.

§ Matt. xviii. 16; and xvii. 18. Acts xi. 2, 3. 1 Tim. v. 19, &c. Col. iv. 17. Acts xv. 1—3.

‖ Acts xx. 27, 28. Heb. xiii. 17. 24. Matt. xxiv. 45. 1 Thess. v. 2. 14. Jude 3. 20. Heb. x. 34, 35; and xii. 15.

¶ 1 Cor. xiv. 3, &c. Rom. xii. 6. 1 Pet. iv. 10, 11. 1 Cor. xii. 7. 1 Thess. v. 19, &c.

for faults and corruptions (for as long as the church consists of men subject to failings, there will be difference in the true constituted church) until they have in due order and tenderness sought redress thereof.*

XLVII. And although the particular congregations be distinct, and several bodies, every one as a compact and knit city within itself: yet are they all to walk by one rule of truth: so also they (by all means convenient) are to have the counsel and help one of another, if necessity require it, as members of one body, in the common faith, under Christ their head.†

XLVIII. A civil magistracy is an ordinance of God, set up by him for the punishment of evil-doers, and for the praise of them that do well; and that in all lawful things, commanded by them, subjection ought to be given by us in the Lord, not only for wrath, but for conscience' sake; and that we are to make supplications and prayers for kings, and all that are in authority, that under them we may live a quiet and peaceable life, in all godliness and honesty.‡

The supreme magistracy of this kingdom we acknowledge to be the king and parliament (now established) freely chosen by the kingdom, and that we are to maintain and defend all civil laws and civil officers made by them, which are for the good of the commonwealth. And we acknowledge with thankfulness, that God hath made this present king and parliament honourable in throwing down the prelatical hierarchy, because of their tyranny and oppression over us, under which this kingdom long groaned, for which we are ever engaged to bless God, and honour them for the same. And concerning the worship of God; there is but one lawgiver, which is able to save and destroy, James iv. 12, which is Jesus Christ, who hath given laws and rules sufficient in his word for his worship; and for any to make more, were to charge Christ with want of wisdom, or faithfulness, or both, in not making laws enough, or not good enough for his house: surely it is our wisdom, duty, and privilege, to observe Christ's laws only, Psalm ii. 6. 9, 10.

* Rev. ii. and iii. Acts xv. 12. 1 Cor. i. 10. Heb. x. 25. Jude 19. Rev. ii. 20, 21. 27. Acts xv. 1, 2. Rom. xiv. 1; and xv. 1—3.

† 1 Cor. iv. 17; xiv. 33. 36; and xvi. 1. Psalm cxxii. 3. Eph. ii. 12. 19. Rev. xxi. 1 Tim. iii. 15; vi. 13, 14. 1 Cor. iv. 17. Acts xv. 2, 3. Cant. viii. 8, 9. 2 Cor. viii. 1. 4; and xiii. 14.

‡ Rom. xiii. 1, 2, &c. 1 Pet. ii. 13, 14. 1 Tim. ii. 1—3.

12. So it is the magistrates' duty to tender the liberty of men's consciences, Eccles. viii. 8. (which is the tenderest thing to all conscientious men, and most dear unto them, and without which all other liberties will not be worth the naming, much less enjoying), and to protect all under them from all wrong, injury, oppression, and molestation; so it is our duty not to be wanting in any thing which is for their honour and comfort, and whatsoever is for the well-being of the commonwealth wherein we live; it is our duty to do, and we believe it to be our express duty, especially in matters of religion, to be fully persuaded in our minds of the lawfulness of what we do, as knowing whatsoever is not of faith is sin. And as we cannot do any thing contrary to our understandings and consciences, so neither can we forbear the doing of that which our understandings and consciences bind us to do. And if the magistrates should require us to do otherwise, we are to yield our persons in a passive way to their power, as the saints of old have done, James v. 4. And thrice happy shall he be, that shall lose his life for witnessing (though but for the least tittle) of the truth of the Lord Jesus Christ, 1 Pet. v. Gal. v.

XLIX. But in case we find not the magistrate to favour us herein; yet we dare not suspend our practice, because we believe we ought to go in obedience to Christ, in professing the faith which was once delivered to the saints, which faith is declared in the Holy Scriptures, and this our confession of faith a part of them, and that we are to witness to the truth of the Old and New Testament unto the death, if necessity require, in the midst of all trials and afflictions, as his saints of old have done; not accounting our goods, lands, wives, children, fathers, mothers, brethren, sisters; yea, and our own lives, dear to us, so we may finish our course with joy; remembering always, that we ought to obey God rather than men, who will, when we have finished our course, and kept the faith, give us the crown of righteousness; to whom we must give an account of all our actions, and no man being able to discharge us of the same.*

L. It is lawful for a Christian to be a magistrate or civil officer; and also it is lawful to take an oath, so it be in

* Acts ii. 40, 41; iv. 19; v. 28, 29; and xx. 23. 1 Thess. iii. 3. Phil. i. 28, 29. Dan. iii. 16, 17; and vi. 7. 10. 22, 23. 1 Tim. vi. 13, 14. Rom. xii. 1. 8. 1 Cor. xiv. 37. Rev. ii. 20. 2 Tim. iv. 6—8. Rom. xiv. 10. 12. 2 Cor. v. 10. Psalm xlix. 7; and l. 22.

truth, and in judgment, and in righteousness, for confirmation of truth, and ending of all strife; and that by rash and vain oaths the Lord is provoked, and this land mourns.*

LI. We are to give unto all men whatsoever is their due, as their place, age, estate, requires; and that we defraud no man of any thing, but to do unto all men as we would they should do unto us.†

LII. There shall be a resurrection of the dead, both of the just and unjust, and every one shall give an account of himself to God, that every one may receive the things done in his body, according to that he hath done, whether it be good or bad.‡

THE CONCLUSION.

Thus we desire to give unto Christ that which is his; and unto all lawful authority that which is their due; and to owe nothing to any man but love; to live quietly and peaceably, as it becometh saints, endeavouring in all things to keep a good conscience, and to do unto every man (of what judgment soever) as we would they should do unto us, that as our practice is, so it may prove us to be a conscionable, quiet, and harmless people (no ways dangerous or troublesome to human society), and to labour and work with our hands, that we may not be chargeable to any, but to give to him that needeth, both friends and enemies, accounting it more excellent to give than to receive. Also we confess, that we know but in part, and that we are ignorant of many things which we desire and seek to know; and if any shall do us that friendly part, to shew us from the word of God that we see not, we shall have cause to be thankful to God and them; but if any man shall impose upon us any thing that we see not to be commanded by our Lord Jesus Christ, we should in his strength rather embrace all reproaches and tortures of men, to be stripped of all outward comforts, and if it were possible, to die a thousand deaths, rather than to do any thing against the least tittle of the truth of God, or against the light of our own consciences. And if any shall call what we have said heresy, then do we

* Acts viii. 38; and x. 1. 2. 35. Rom. xvi. 25. Deut. vi. 13. Rom. i. 9. 2 Cor. x. 11. Jer. iv. 2. Heb. vi. 16.

† 1 Thess. iv. 6. Rom. xiii. 5—7. Matt. xxii. 21. Titus iii. 1 Pet. ii. 15. 17; and v. 5. Eph. v. 21. 23; and vi. 1. 9. Titus iii. 1—3.

‡ Acts xxiv. 15. 1 Cor. v. 10. Rom. xiv. 12.

with the apostle acknowledge, that after the way they call heresy, worship we the God of our fathers, disclaiming all heresies, rightly so called, because they are against Christ, and to be steadfast and immoveable, always abounding in obedience to Christ, as knowing our labour shall not be in vain in the Lord.*

Arise, O God, plead thine own cause; remember how the foolish man blasphemeth thee daily. O let not the oppressed return ashamed, but let the poor and needy praise thy name.

Come, Lord Jesus, come quickly.

No. XII.

A CONCISE VIEW OF THE CHIEF PRINCIPLES OF THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION, AS PROFESSED BY THE PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS.—BY ROBERT BARCLAY.

THE FIRST PROPOSITION.

Concerning the true Foundation of Knowledge.

SEEING the height of all happiness is placed in the true knowledge of God, (this is life eternal, to know thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hath sent†): the true and right understanding of this foundation and ground of knowledge, is that which is most necessary to be known and believed in the first place.

THE SECOND PROPOSITION.

Concerning immediate Revelation.

Seeing no man knoweth the Father but the Son, and he to whom the Son revealeth him;‡ and seeing the revelation of the Son is in and by the Spirit; therefore the testimony of the Spirit is that alone by which the true knowledge of God hath been, is, and can be, only revealed; who as, by the moving of his own Spirit, he converted the chaos of this world into that wonderful order wherein it was in the beginning, and created man a living soul, to rule and govern it, so by the revelation of the same Spirit he hath manifested himself all along unto the sons of men, both patriarchs,

* Psalm lxxiv. 21, 22. † John xvii. 3. ‡ Matt. xi. 27.

prophets, and apostles; which revelations of God by the Spirit, whether by outward voices and appearances, dreams, or inward objective manifestations in the heart, were of old the formal object of their faith, and remain yet so to be; since the object of the saints' faith is the same in all ages, though set forth under divers administrations. Moreover, these divine inward revelations, which we make absolutely necessary for the building up of true faith, neither do nor can contradict the outward testimony of the Scriptures, or right and sound reason. Yet from hence it will not follow, that these divine revelations are to be subjected to the examination either of the outward testimony of the Scriptures, or of the natural reason of man, as to a more noble or certain rule or touchstone; for this divine revelation, and inward illumination, is that which is evident and clear of itself, forcing, by its own evidence and clearness, the well-disposed understanding to assent, irresistibly moving the same thereunto; even as the common principles of natural truths move and incline the mind to a natural assent; as that the whole is greater than its parts; that two contradictory sayings cannot be both true, nor both false: which is also manifest according to our adversaries' principle; who (supposing the possibility of inward divine revelations) will nevertheless confess with us, that neither Scripture nor sound reason will contradict it: and yet it will not follow, according to them, that the Scripture, or sound reason, should be subjected to the examination of the divine revelations in the heart.

THE THIRD PROPOSITION.

Concerning the Scriptures.

From these revelations of the Spirit of God to the saints, have proceeded the Scriptures of truth, which contain, 1. A faithful historical account of the actings of God's people in divers ages, with many singular and remarkable providences attending them. 2. A prophetical account of several things, whereof some are already past, and some yet to come. 3. A full and ample account of all the chief principles of the doctrine of Christ, held forth in divers precious declarations, exhortations, and sentences, which, by the moving of God's Spirit, were at several times, and upon sundry occasions, spoken and written unto some churches and their

pastors: nevertheless, because they are only a declaration of the Fountain, and not the Fountain itself, therefore they are not to be esteemed the principal ground of all truth and knowledge, nor yet the adequate primary rule of faith and manners. Nevertheless, as that which giveth a true and faithful testimony of the first foundation, they are and may be esteemed a secondary rule, subordinate to the Spirit, from which they have all their excellency and certainty: for as by the inward testimony of the Spirit we do alone truly know them, so they testify, that the Spirit is that guide by which the saints are led into all truth;* therefore, according to the Scriptures, the Spirit is the first and principal leader. And seeing we do therefore receive and believe the Scriptures, because they proceeded from the Spirit; therefore also the Spirit is more originally and principally the rule, according to that received maxim in the schools, "Propter quod unumquodque est tale, illud ipsum est magis tale." Englished thus: That for which a thing is such, that thing itself is more such.

THE FOURTH PROPOSITION.

Concerning the Condition of Man in the Fall.

All Adam's posterity (or mankind†), both Jews and Gentiles, as to the first Adam or earthly man, is fallen, degenerated, and dead, deprived of the sensation or feeling of this inward testimony or seed of God; and is subject unto the power, nature, and seed, of the serpent, which he sows in men's hearts, while they abide in this natural and corrupted state; from whence it comes, that not their words and deeds only, but all their imaginations, are evil perpetually in the sight of God, as proceeding from this depraved and wicked seed. Man therefore, as he is in this state, can know nothing aright; yea, his thoughts and conceptions concerning God and things spiritual, until he be disjoined from this evil seed, and united to the divine light, are unprofitable both to himself and others. Hence are rejected, the Socinian and Pelagian errors, in exalting a natural light; as also those of the Papists, and most Protestants, who affirm, that man, without the true grace of God, may be a true minister of the gospel. Nevertheless, this seed

* John xvi. 13. Rom. viii. 14. † Rom. v. 12. 15.

is not imputed to infants, until by transgression they actually join themselves therewith: for "they are by nature the children of wrath, who walk according to the power of the prince of the air."*

THE FIFTH AND SIXTH PROPOSITIONS.

Concerning the Universal Redemption by Christ, and also the Saving and Spiritual Light, wherewith every Man is enlightened.

THE FIFTH PROPOSITION.

God, out of his infinite love, who delighteth not in the death of a sinner, but that all should live and be saved, hath so loved the world, that he hath given his only Son a light, that whosoever believeth in him should be saved; who enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world, and maketh manifest all things that are reprovable, and teacheth all temperance, righteousness, and godliness:† and this light enlighteneth the hearts of all in a day,‡ in order to salvation, if not resisted. Nor is it less universal than the seed of sin, being the purchase of his death, who "tasted death for every man:" "for as in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive."§

THE SIXTH PROPOSITION.

According to which principle, or hypothesis, all the objections against the universality of Christ's death are easily solved; neither is it needful to recur to the ministry of angels, and those other miraculous means, which, they say, God makes use of to manifest the doctrine and history of Christ's passion unto such who (living in those places of the world where the outward preaching of the gospel is unknown) have well improved the first and common grace: for hence it well follows, that as some of the old philosophers might have been saved, so also may now some (who by providence are cast into those remote parts of the world, where the knowledge of the history is wanting) be made partakers of the divine mercy, if they receive and resist not that grace, a manifestation whereof is given to every man

* Eph. ii. 1.

† Ezek. xviii. 23. Isa. xlix. 6. John iii. 16; and i. 9. Titus ii. 11. Eph. v. 13. Heb. ii. 9.

‡ *Pro tempore*, for a time.

§ 1 Cor. xv. 22.

to profit withal.* This certain doctrine then being received, to wit, that there is an evangelical and saving light and grace in all, the universality of the love and mercy of God towards mankind, both in the death of his beloved Son, the Lord Jesus Christ, and in the manifestation of the light in the heart, is established and confirmed, against all the objections of such as deny it. Therefore Christ "hath tasted death for every man;"† not only for all kinds of men, as some vainly talk, but for every one, of all kinds; the benefit of whose offering is not only extended to such who have the distinct outward knowledge of his death and sufferings, as the same is declared in the Scriptures, but even unto those who are necessarily excluded from the benefit of this knowledge by some inevitable accident; which knowledge we willingly confess to be very profitable and comfortable, but not absolutely needful unto such, from whom God himself hath withheld it: yet they may be made partakers of the mystery of his death, though ignorant of the history, if they suffer his seed and light, enlightening their hearts, to take place, in which light, communion with the Father and Son is enjoyed, so as of wicked men to become holy, and lovers of that power, by whose inward and secret touches they feel themselves turned from the evil to the good, and learn to do to others as they would be done by; in which Christ himself affirms all to be included. As they then have falsely and erroneously taught, who have denied Christ to have died for all men; so neither have they sufficiently taught the truth, who, affirming him to have died for all, have added the absolute necessity of the outward knowledge thereof, in order to the obtaining its saving effect; among whom the remonstrants of Holland have been chiefly wanting, and many other assertors of universal redemption, in that they have not placed the extent of this salvation in that divine and evangelical principle of light and life, wherewith Christ hath enlightened every man that comes into the world; which is excellently and evidently held forth in these scriptures: Gen. vi. 3. Deut xxx. 14. John i. 7—9. Rom. x. 8. Tit. ii. 11.

THE SEVENTH PROPOSITION.

Concerning Justification.

As many as resist not this light, but receive the same, in

* 1 Cor. xii. 7. † Heb. ii. 9.

them is produced a holy, pure, and spiritual birth, bringing forth holiness, righteousness, purity, and all those other blessed fruits which are acceptable to God, by which holy birth (to wit, Jesus Christ formed within us, and working his works within us), as we are sanctified, so are we justified in the sight of God, according to the apostle's words: "But ye are washed, but ye are sanctified, but ye are justified, in the name of the Lord Jesus, and by the Spirit of our God."* Therefore it is not by our works wrought in our will, nor yet by good works, considered as of themselves, but by Christ, who is both the gift and the giver, and the cause producing the effects in us: who, as he hath reconciled us while we were enemies, doth also in his wisdom save us, and justify us after this manner, as saith the same apostle elsewhere. "According to his mercy he saved us, by the washing of regeneration, and the renewing of the Holy Ghost."†

THE EIGHTH PROPOSITION.

Concerning Perfection.

In whom this holy and pure birth is fully brought forth, the body of death and sin comes to be crucified and removed, and their hearts united and subjected to the truth, so as not to obey any suggestion or temptation of the evil one, but to be free from actual sinning, and transgressing of the law of God, and in that respect perfect.‡ Yet doth this perfection still admit of a growth; and there remaineth a possibility of sinning, where the mind doth not most diligently and watchfully attend unto the Lord.

THE NINTH PROPOSITION.

Concerning Perseverance, and the Possibility of falling from Grace.

Although this gift, and inward grace of God, be sufficient to work out salvation; yet in those in whom it is resisted, it both may and doth become their condemnation. Moreover, in whom it hath wrought in part, to purify and sanctify them, in order to their farther perfection, by disobedience such may fall from it, and turn it to wantonness,

* 1 Cor. vi. 11. † Tit. iii. 5.
‡ Rom. vi. 2. 14. 18; and viii. 13. 1 John iii. 6.

making shipwreck of faith; and after having tasted of the heavenly gift, and been made partakers of the Holy Ghost, again fall away.* Yet such an increase and stability in the truth may in this life be attained, from which there cannot be a total apostacy.

THE TENTH PROPOSITION.

Concerning the Ministry.

As by this gift, or light of God, all true knowledge in things spiritual is received and revealed; so by the same, as it is manifested and received in the heart, by the strength and power thereof, every true minister of the gospel is ordained, prepared, and supplied, in the work of the ministry: and by the leading, moving, and drawing, hereof, ought every evangelist and Christian pastor to be led and ordered in his labour and work of the gospel, both as to the place where, as to the persons to whom, and as to the times when, he is to minister. Moreover, those who have this authority may and ought to preach the gospel, though without human commission or literature; as, on the other hand, those who want the authority of this divine gift, however learned or authorized by the commissions of men and churches, are to be esteemed but as deceivers, and not true ministers of the gospel. Also, who have received this holy and unspotted gift, as they have freely received, so are they freely to give,† without hire or bargaining, far less to use it as a trade to get money by it: yet if God hath called any from their employments or trades, by which they acquire their livelihood, it may be lawful for such, according to the liberty which they feel given them in the Lord, to receive such temporals, to wit, what may be needful to them for meat and clothing, as are freely given them by those to whom they have communicated spirituals.

THE ELEVENTH PROPOSITION.

Concerning Worship.

All true and acceptable worship to God is offered in the inward and immediate moving and drawing of his own Spirit, which is neither limited to places, times, or persons: for though we be to worship him always, in that we are to fear

* 1 Tim. i. 6. Heb. vi. 4—6. † Matt. x. 8.

before him; yet as to the outward signification thereof in prayers, praises, and preachings, we ought not to do it where and when we will, but where and when we are moved thereunto by the secret inspirations of his Spirit in our hearts; which God heareth and accepteth of, and is never wanting to move us thereunto, when need is, of which he himself is the alone proper judge. All other worship then, both praises, prayers, and preachings, which man sets about in his own will, and at his own appointment, which he can both begin and end at his pleasure, do or leave undone as himself sees meet; whether they be a prescribed form, as a liturgy, or prayers conceived extemporarily, by the natural strength and faculty of the mind; they are all but superstitions, will-worship, and abominable idolatry, in the sight of God;* which are to be denied, rejected, and separated from, in this day of his spiritual arising; however it might have pleased him, who winked at the times of ignorance, with respect to the simplicity and integrity of some, and of his own innocent seed, which lay as it were buried in the hearts of men, under the mass of superstition, to blow upon the dead and dry bones, and to raise some breathings, and answer them, and that until the day should more clearly dawn and break forth.

THE TWELFTH PROPOSITION.

Concerning Baptism.

As there is one Lord and one faith, so there is one baptism; which is not the putting away the filth of the flesh, but the answer of a good conscience before God, by the resurrection of Jesus Christ.† And this baptism is a pure and spiritual thing, to wit, the baptism of the Spirit and fire, by which we are buried with him, that being washed and purged from our sins, we may walk in newness of life;‡ of which the baptism of John was a figure, which was commanded for a time, and not to continue for ever. As to the baptism of infants, it is a mere human tradition, for which neither precept nor practice is to be found in all the Scripture.

* Ezek. xiii. Mark x. 20. Acts ii. 4; and xviii. 5. John iii. 6; and iv. 21. Jude 19. Acts xvii. 23.

† Eph. iv. 5. 1 Pet. iii. 21. Rom. vi. 4. Gal. iii. 27. Col. ii. 12. John iii. 30.

‡ 1 Cor. i. 17.

THE THIRTEENTH PROPOSITION.

Concerning the Communion, or Participation of the Body and Blood of Christ.

The communion of the body and blood of Christ is inward and spiritual,* which is the participation of his flesh and blood,† by which the inward man is daily nourished in the hearts of those in whom Christ dwells; of which things the breaking of bread by Christ with his disciples was a figure, which they even used in the church for a time, who had received the substance, for the cause of the weak; even as abstaining from things strangled, and from blood, the washing one another's feet, and the anointing of the sick with oil;‡ all which are commanded with no less authority and solemnity than the former; yet seeing they are but the shadows of better things, they cease in such as have obtained the substance.

THE FOURTEENTH PROPOSITION.

Concerning the Power of the Civil Magistrate, in Matters purely religious, and pertaining to the Conscience.

Since God hath assumed to himself the power and dominion of the conscience, who alone can rightly instruct and govern it, therefore it is not lawful for any whatsoever, by virtue of any authority or principality they bear in the government of this world, to force the consciences of others;§ and therefore all killing, banishing, fining, imprisoning, and other such things, which men are afflicted with, for the alone exercise of their conscience, or difference in worship or opinion, proceedeth from the spirit of Cain the murderer, and is contrary to the truth: provided always, that no man, under the pretence of conscience, prejudice his neighbour in his life or estate; or do any thing destructive to, or inconsistent with, human society; in which case the law is for the transgressor, and justice to be administered upon all, without respect of persons.

* 1 Cor. x. 16, 17. † John vi. 32, 33. 35. 1 Cor. v. 8.
‡ Acts xv. 20. John xiii. 14. James v. 14.
§ Luke ix. 55, 56. Matt. vii. 12. 29. Titus iii. 10.

THE FIFTEENTH PROPOSITION.

Concerning the Salutations and Recreations, &c.

Seeing the chief end of all religion is to redeem man from the spirit and vain conversation of this world, and to lead into inward communion with God,* before whom if we fear always, we are accounted happy; therefore all the vain customs and habits thereof, both in word and deed, are to be rejected and forsaken by those who come to this fear; such as the taking off the hat to a man, the bowings and cringings of the body, and such other salutations of that kind, with all the foolish and superstitious formalities attending them; all which man has invented in his degenerate state, to feed his pride in the vain pomp and glory of this world; as also the unprofitable plays, frivolous recreations, sportings and gamings, which are invented to pass away the precious time, and divert the mind from the witness of God in the heart, and from the living sense of his fear, and from that evangelical spirit wherewith Christians ought to be leavened, and which leads into sobriety, gravity, and godly fear; in which as we abide, the blessing of the Lord is felt to attend us in those actions in which we are necessarily engaged, in order to the taking care for the sustenance of the outward man.

No. XIII.

The toleration act, entitled, "An act for exempting their majesties' Protestant subjects dissenting from the church of England from the penalties of certain laws."

FORASMUCH as some ease to scrupulous consciences, in the exercise of religion, may be an effectual means to unite their majesties' Protestant subjects in interest and affection,†

I. Be it enacted by the king and queen's most excellent

* Eph. v. 11. 1 Pet. i. 14. John v. 44. Jer. x. 3. Acts x. 26. Matt. xv. 13. Col. ii. 8.

† 1 Will. and Mary, cap. 18.

majesties, and with the advice and consent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons in this present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that neither the statute made in the twenty-third year of the reign of the late queen Elizabeth,* entitled, "An act to retain the queen majesty's subjects in their due obedience;" nor that statute made in the twenty-ninth year of the said queen,† entitled, "An act for the more speedy and due execution of certain branches of the statute, made in the twenty-third year of the queen's majesty's reign," viz. the aforesaid acts; nor that branch or clause of a statute made in the first year of the reign of the said queen, entitled, "An act for the uniformity of common-prayer and service in the church and administration of the sacraments;"‡ whereby all persons, having no lawful or reasonable excuse to be absent, are required to resort to their parish-church or chapel, or some usual place where the common-prayer shall be used, upon pain of punishment by the censures of the church; and also, upon pain that every person so offending shall forfeit for every such offence twelve-pence. Nor that statute made in the third year of the late king James the First,§ entitled, "An act for the better discovering and repressing Popish recusants." Nor that after statute made in the same year,‖ entitled, "An act to prevent and avoid dangers which may grow by Popish recusants." Nor any other law or statute of this realm made against Papists or Popish recusants, except the statute made in the twenty-fifth year of king Charles II.¶ entitled, "An act for preventing dangers which may happen from Popish recusants." And except also the statute made in the thirtieth year of the said king Charles II.** entitled, "An act for the more effectual preserving the king's person and government, by disabling Papists from sitting in either house of parliament," shall be construed to extend to any person or persons dissenting from the church of England, that shall take the oaths mentioned in a statute made this present parliament, entitled, "An act for removing and preventing all questions and disputes concerning the assembling and sitting of the present parliament," shall make and subscribe the declaration

* 23 Eliz. cap. 1. † 29 Eliz. cap. 6. ‡ Ibid. cap. 2.
§ 3 Jac. I. cap. 4. ‖ Ibid. cap. 5. ¶ 25 Car. II. cap. 2.
** 30 Car. II. stat. 2. cap. 1.

mentioned in a statute made in the thirtieth year of the reign of king Charles II.* entitled, "An act to prevent Papists from sitting in either house of parliament." Which oaths and declaration the justices of peace, at the general sessions of the peace to be held for the county or place where such person shall live, are hereby required to tender and administer to such persons as shall offer themselves to take, make, and subscribe, the same, and thereof to keep a register. And likewise none of the persons aforesaid shall give or pay, as any fee or reward, to any officer or officers belonging to the court aforesaid, above the sum of six-pence, nor that more than once, for his or their entry of his taking the said oaths, and making and subscribing the said declaration; nor above the farther sum of six-pence for any certificate of the same, to be made out and signed by the officer or officers of the said court.

II. And be it farther enacted by the authority aforesaid, that all and every person and persons already convicted, or prosecuted in order to conviction of recusancy, by indictment, information, action of debt, or otherwise grounded upon the aforesaid statutes, or any of them, that shall take the said oaths mentioned in the said statutes made this present parliament, and make and subscribe the declaration aforesaid, in the court of exchequer, or assize, or general or quarter-sessions, to be held for the county where such person lives, and to be thence respectively certified into the exchequer; shall be thenceforth exempted and discharged from all the penalties, seizures, forfeitures, judgments, and executions, incurred by force of any of the aforesaid statutes, without any composition, fee, or farther charge whatsoever.

III. And be it farther enacted by the authority aforesaid, that all and every person and persons that shall, as aforesaid, take the said oaths, and make and subscribe the declaration aforesaid, shall not be liable to any pains, penalties, or forfeitures, mentioned in an act made in the thirty-fifth year of the reign of the late queen Elizabeth,† entitled, "An act to retain the queen majesty's subjects in their due obedience." Nor in an act made in the twenty-second year of the reign of the late king Charles II.‡ entitled, "An act to prevent and suppress seditious conventicles." Nor shall

* 30 Car. II. stat. 2. chap. 1. † 35 Eliz. cap. 1. ‡ 22 Car. II. cap. 1.

any of the said persons be prosecuted in any ecclesiastical court, for or by reason of their nonconforming to the church of England.

IV. Provided always, and be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that if any assembly of persons, dissenting from the church of England, shall be held in any place for religious worship, with the doors locked, barred, or bolted, during any time of such meeting together, all and every person or persons that shall come to and be at such meeting, shall not receive any benefit from this law, but be liable to all the pains and penalties of all the aforesaid laws recited in this act, for such their meeting, notwithstanding his taking the oaths, and his making and subscribing the declaration aforesaid.

V. Provided always, that nothing herein contained shall be construed to exempt any of the persons aforesaid from paying of tithes, or other parochial duties, or any other duties, to the church or minister; nor from any prosecution in any ecclesiastical court, or elsewhere, for the same.

VI. And be it farther enacted by the authority aforesaid, that if any person dissenting from the church of England, as aforesaid, shall hereafter be chosen, or otherwise appointed to bear the office of high-constable, or petit-constable, churchwarden, overseer of the poor, or any other parochial or ward office, and such person shall scruple to take upon him any of the said offices, in regard of the oaths, or any other matter or thing required by the law to be taken or done, in respect of such office, every such person shall and may execute such office or employment by a sufficient deputy, by him to be provided, that shall comply with the laws on this behalf; provided always, the said deputy be allowed and approved by such person or persons, in such manner, as such officer or officers respectively should by law have been allowed and approved.

VII. And be it farther enacted by the authority aforesaid, that no person dissenting from the church of England, in holy orders, or pretended holy orders, or pretending to holy orders, nor any preacher or teacher of any congregation of dissenting Protestants, that shall make and subscribe the declaration aforesaid,* and take the said oaths, at the general or quarter-sessions of the peace to be held

* 17 Car. II. cap. 2. 13 and 14. Car. II. cap. 4.

for the county, town, parts, or division, where such person lives, which court is hereby empowered to administer the same; and shall also declare his approbation of, and subscribe the articles of religion mentioned in the statute made in the thirteenth year of the reign of the late queen Elizabeth,* except the 34th, 35th, and 36th, and these words of the 20th article, viz. "the church hath power to decree rites or ceremonies, and authority in controversies of faith, and yet," shall be liable to any of the pains or penalties mentioned in an act made in the seventeenth year of the reign of king Charles II.† entitled, "An act for restraining Nonconformists from inhabiting in corporations;" nor the penalties mentioned in the aforesaid act made in the twenty-second year of his said late majesty's reign, for or by reason of such persons preaching at any meeting for the exercise of religion. Nor to the penalties of 100*l.* mentioned in an act made in the thirteenth and fourteenth of king Charles II.‡ entitled, "An act for the uniformity of public prayers, and administering of sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies; and for establishing the form of making, ordaining, and consecrating, of bishops, priests, and deacons, in the church of England," for officiating in any congregation for the exercise of religion permitted and allowed by this act.

VIII. Provided always, that the making and subscribing the said declaration, and the taking the said oaths, and making the declaration of approbation and subscription to the said articles, in manner as aforesaid, by every respective person or persons herein before mentioned, at such general or quarter-sessions of the peace as aforesaid, shall be then and there entered of record in the said court, for which sixpence shall be paid to the clerk of the peace, and no more; provided that such person shall not at any time preach in any place but with the doors not locked, barred, or bolted, as aforesaid.

IX. And whereas some dissenting Protestants scruple the baptizing of infants, be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that every person in pretended holy orders, or pretending to holy orders, or preacher, or teacher, that shall subscribe the aforesaid articles of religion, except as before

* 13. Eliz. cap. 12.
† 17 Car. II. cap. 2.
‡ 13 and 14 Car. II. cap. 4.

excepted: and also except part of the 27th article teaching infant-baptism, and shall take the oaths, and make and subscribe the declaration aforesaid, in manner aforesaid; every such person shall enjoy all the privileges, benefits, and advantages, which any other dissenting minister, as aforesaid, might have or enjoy by virtue of this act.

X. And be it farther enacted by the authority aforesaid, that every teacher or preacher in holy orders, or pretended holy orders, that is a minister, preacher, or teacher, of a congregation, that shall take the oaths herein required, and make and subscribe the declaration aforesaid; and also subscribe such of the aforesaid articles of the church of England, as are required by this act in manner aforesaid, shall be thenceforth exempted from serving upon any jury, or from being chosen or appointed to bear the office of churchwarden, overseer of the poor, or any other parochial or ward office, or other office in any hundred, or any shire, city, town, parish, division, or wapentake.

XI. And be it farther enacted by the authority aforesaid, that any justice of the peace may at any time hereafter require any person that goes to any meeting for exercise of religion, to make and subscribe the declaration aforesaid, and also to take the said oaths, or declaration of fidelity herein after mentioned, in case such person scruple the taking of an oath; and upon the refusal thereof, such justice of the peace is hereby required to commit such person to prison, without bail or mainprize, and to certify the name of such person to the next general or quarter-sessions of the peace to be held for that county, city, town, part, or division, where such person then resides; and if such person so committed shall, upon a second tender at the general or quarter-sessions, refuse to make and subscribe the declaration aforesaid, such person refusing shall be then and there recorded, and shall be taken thenceforth to all intents and purposes for a Popish recusant convict, and suffer accordingly, and incur all the penalties and forfeitures of the aforesaid laws.

XII. And whereas there are certain other persons, dissenters from the church of England, who scruple the taking of any oath, be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that every such person shall make and subscribe the afore-

said declaration; and also this declaration of fidelity following.*

I A. B. do sincerely promise, and solemnly declare, before God and the world, that I will be true and faithful to king William and queen Mary. And I solemnly profess and declare, that I do from my heart abhor, detest, and renounce, as impious and heretical, that damnable doctrine, and position, that princes excommunicated, or deprived by the pope, or any authority of the see of Rome, may be deposed or murdered by their subjects, or any other whatsoever. And I do declare, that no foreign prince, person, prelate, state, or potentate, hath, or ought to have, any power, jurisdiction, superiority, pre-eminence, or authority, ecclesiastical or spiritual, within this realm.

And shall subscribe a profession of their Christian belief in these words:

I A. B. profess faith in God the Father, and in Jesus Christ his eternal Son, the true God, and in the Holy Spirit, one God blessed for evermore; and do acknowledge the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament to be given by divine inspiration.

Which declaration and subscription shall be made and entered of record at the general quarter-sessions of the peace for the county, city, or place, where every such person shall then reside. And every such person that shall make and subscribe the two declarations and profession aforesaid, being thereunto required, shall be exempted from all the pains and penalties of all and every the aforementioned statutes made against Popish recusants, or Protestant Nonconformists; and also from the penalties of an act made in the fifth year of the reign of the late queen Elizabeth,† entitled, "An act for the assurance of the queen's royal power over all estates and subjects within her dominions," for or by reason of such persons not taking or refusing to take the oath mentioned in the said act. And also from the penalties of an act made in the thirteenth and fourteenth years of the reign of king Charles II.‡ entitled, "An act for preventing mischiefs that may arise by certain persons called Quakers refusing to take lawful oaths, and enjoy all other the benefits, privileges, and advantages,

* 8 Geo. I. cap. 6. † 5 Eliz. cap. 1. ‡ 13 and 14 Car. II. cap. 1.

under the like limitations, provisoes, and conditions, which any other dissenters should or ought to enjoy by virtue of this act.

XIII. Provided always, and be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that in case any person shall refuse to take the said oaths when tendered to them, which every justice of the peace is hereby empowered to do, such person shall not be admitted to make and subscribe the two declarations aforesaid, though required thereunto, either before any justice of the peace, or at the general or quarter sessions, before or after any conviction of Popish recusancy, as aforesaid, unless such person can, within thirty-one days after such tender of the declaration to him, produce two sufficient Protestant witnesses to testify upon oath, that they believe him to be a Protestant dissenter, or a certificate under the hands of four Protestants who are conformable to the church of England, or have taken the oaths, and subscribed the declaration above named, and shall produce a certificate under the hands and seals of six or more sufficient men of the congregation to which he belongs, owning him for one of them.

XIV. Provided also, and be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that until such certificate, under the hands of six of his congregation, as aforesaid, be produced, and two Protestant witnesses come to attest his being a Protestant dissenter, or a certificate under the hands of four Protestants, as aforesaid, be produced, the justice of peace shall, and hereby is required to, take a recognizance, with two sureties, in the penal sum of 50*l.* to be levied of his goods and chattels, lands and tenements, to the use of the king's and queen's majesties, their heirs and successors, for his producing the same; and if he cannot give such security, to commit him to prison, there to remain until he has produced such certificate, or two witnesses as aforesaid.

XV. Provided always, and it is the true intent and meaning of this act, that all the laws made and provided for the frequenting of divine service on the Lord's day, commonly called Sunday, shall be still in force, and executed against all persons that offend against the said laws, except such persons come to some congregation, or assembly of religious worship, allowed or permitted by this act.

XVI. Provided always, and be it farther enacted by the

authority aforesaid, that neither this act, nor any clause, article, or thing, herein contained, shall extend, or be construed to extend, to give any ease, benefit, or advantage, to any Papist or Popish recusant whatsoever, or any person that shall deny, in his preaching or writing, the doctrine of the blessed Trinity, as it is declared in the aforesaid articles of religion.

XVII. Provided always, and be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that if any person or persons, at any time or times after the 10th day of June, do, and shall willingly, and of purpose, maliciously, or contemptuously, come into any cathedral, or parish-church, chapel, or other congregation, permitted by this act, and disquiet or disturb the same, or misuse any preacher or teacher; such person or persons, upon proof thereof before any justice of the peace, by two or more sufficient witnesses, shall find two sureties to be bound by recognizance in the penal sum of 50*l.*, and in default of such sureties shall be committed to prison, there to remain till the next general or quarter-sessions, and upon conviction of the said offence, at the said general or quarter-sessions, shall suffer the pain and penalty of 20*l.* to the use of the king's and queen's majesties, their heirs and successors.*

XVIII. Provided always, that no congregation, or assembly for religious worship, shall be permitted or allowed by this act, until the place of such meeting shall be certified to the bishop of the diocess, or to the archdeacon of that archdeaconry, or to the justices of the peace, at the general or quarter-sessions of the peace for the county, city, or place, in which such meeting shall be held, and registered in the said bishop's or archdeacon's court respectively, or recorded at the said general or quarter-sessions, the register or clerk of the peace whereof respectively is hereby required to register the same, and to give certificate thereof to such person as shall demand the same, for which there shall be no greater fee or reward taken than the sum of six-pence.

* See Geo. I. stat. 2. cap. 5. §. 4.

No. XIV.

The occasional conformity act, entitled, "An act for preserving the Protestant religion, by better securing the church of England, as by law established; and for confirming the toleration granted to Protestant dissenters by an act, entitled, 'An act for exempting their majesties' Protestant subjects, dissenting from the church of England, from the penalties of certain laws,' and for supplying the defects thereof; and for the farther securing the Protestant succession, by requiring the practisers of the law in North-Britain to take the oaths, and subscribe the declaration therein mentioned."

WHEREAS an act was made in the thirteenth year of the reign of the late king Charles II. entitled, "An act for the well-governing and regulating of corporations."* And another act was made in the five-and-twentieth year of the reign of the said late king Charles II. entitled, "An act for the preventing dangers which may happen from Popish recusants. Both which acts were made for the security of the church of England, as by law established. Now for the better securing the said church, and quieting the minds of her majesty's Protestant subjects dissenting from the church of England, and rendering them secure in the exercise of their religious worship; as also for the farther strengthening the provision already made for the security of the succession to the crown in the house of Hanover; be it enacted by the queen's most excellent majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons in parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that if any person or persons, after the five-and-twentieth day of March, which shall be in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and twelve, either peers or commoners, who have or shall have any office or offices, civil or military, or receive any pay, salary, fee, or wages, by reason of any patent or grant from or under her majesty, or any of her majesty's predecessors, or of her heirs or successors, or shall have any command or

* 10th of queen Anne.

place of trust from or under her majesty, her heirs or successors, or from any of her majesty's predecessors, or by her or their authority, or by authority derived from her or them, within that part of Great Britain called England, the dominion of Wales, or town of Berwick-upon-Tweed, or in the navy, or in the several islands of Jersey or Guernsey, or shall be admitted into any service or employment in the household or family of her majesty, her heirs or successors; or if any mayor, alderman, recorder, bailiff, town-clerk, common-council-man, or other person bearing any office of magistracy, or place of trust, or other employment relating to or concerning the government of any of the respective cities, corporations, boroughs, cinque-ports, and their members, or other port towns within that part of Great Britain called England, the dominion of Wales, town of Berwick, or either of the isles aforesaid, who by the said recited acts, or either of them, were or are obliged to receive the sacrament of the Lord's supper, according to the rites and usage of the church of England, as aforesaid, shall, at any time after their admission into their respective offices or employments, or after having such patent or grant, command or place of trust, as aforesaid, during his or their continuance in such office or offices, employment or employments, or having such patent or grant, command or place of trust, or any profit or advantage from the same, knowingly or willingly resort to, or be present at, any conventicle, assembly, or meeting, within England, Wales, Berwick-upon-Tweed, or the isles aforesaid, for the exercise of religion in other manner than according to the liturgy and practice of the church of England, in any place within that part of Great Britain called England, dominion of Wales, and town of Berwick-upon-Tweed, or the isles aforesaid, at which conventicle, assembly, or meeting, there shall be ten persons or more assembled together, over and besides those of the same household, if it be in any house where there is a family inhabiting, or if it be in a house or place where there is no family inhabiting, then where any such ten persons are so assembled, as aforesaid; or shall knowingly and willingly be present at any such meeting, in such house, or place, as aforesaid, although the liturgy be there used, where her majesty, whom God long preserve, and the princess Sophia, or such others as shall from time to time be lawfully ap-

pointed to be prayed for, shall not there be prayed for in express words according to the liturgy of the church of England, except where such particular offices of the liturgy are used, wherein there are no express directions to pray for her majesty and the royal family, shall forfeit 40*l.* to be recovered by him or them that shall sue for the same, by any action of debt, bill, plaint, or information, in any of her majesty's courts at Westminster, wherein no essoin, protection, or wager of law, shall be allowed, or any more than one imparlance.

And be it farther enacted, that every person convicted in any action to be brought, as aforesaid, or upon any information, presentment, or indictment, in any of her majesty's courts at Westminster, or at the assizes, shall be disabled from thenceforth to hold such office or offices, employment or employments, or to receive any profit or advantage by reason of them, or of any grant, as aforesaid, and shall be adjudged incapable to bear any office or employment whatsoever within that part of Great Britain called England, the dominion of Wales, or the town of Berwick-upon-Tweed, or the isles of Jersey or Guernsey.

Provided always, and be it farther enacted by the authority aforesaid, that if any person or persons who shall have been convicted as aforesaid, and thereby made incapable to hold any office or employment, or to receive any profit or advantage by reason of them, or of any grant as aforesaid, shall, after such conviction, conform to the church of England, for the space of one year, without having been present at any conventicle, assembly, or meeting, as aforesaid, and receive the sacrament of the Lord's supper, according to the rites and usage of the church of England, at least three times in the year, every such person or persons shall be capable of the grant of any the offices or employments aforesaid.

Provided also, and be it farther enacted, that every such person so convicted, and afterward conforming, in manner as aforesaid, shall, at the next term after his admission into any such office or employment, make oath in writing, in some one of her majesty's courts at Westminster, in public and open court, or at the next quarter-sessions for that county or place where he shall reside, between the hours of nine and twelve in the forenoon, he hath conformed to the

church of England for the space of one year before such his admission, without having been present at any conventicle, assembly, or meeting, as aforesaid, and that he hath received the sacrament of the Lord's supper at least three times in the year; which oath shall be there enrolled and kept upon record.

Provided, that no person shall suffer any punishment for any offence committed against this act, unless oath be made of such offence before some judge or justice of the peace (who is hereby empowered and required to take the said oath), within ten days after the said offence committed, and unless the said offender be prosecuted for the same within three months after the said offence committed, nor shall any person be convicted for any such offence, unless upon the oaths of two credible witnesses at the least.

Provided always, that this act, or any thing therein contained, or any offence against the same, shall not extend or be judged to take away or make void any office of inheritance, nevertheless, so as such person having or enjoying any such office of inheritance, do or shall substitute and appoint his sufficient deputy (which such officer is hereby empowered from time to time to make or change, any former law or usage to the contrary notwithstanding), to exercise the said office, until such time as the person having such office shall conform as aforesaid.

And it is hereby farther enacted and declared by the authority aforesaid, that the toleration granted to Protestant dissenters, by the act made in the first year of the reign of king William and queen Mary, entitled, "An act for exempting their majesties' Protestant subjects, dissenting from the church of England, from the penalties of certain laws," shall be, and is hereby ratified and confirmed, and that the same act shall at all times be inviolably observed, for the exempting of such Protestant dissenters as are thereby intended, from the pains and penalties therein mentioned.

And for rendering the said last-mentioned act more effectual, according to the true intent and meaning thereof, be it farther enacted and declared by the authority aforesaid, that if any person dissenting from the church of England (not in holy orders, or pretended holy orders, or pretending to holy orders, nor any preacher or teacher of any congre-

gation), who should have been entitled to the benefit of the said last-mentioned act, if such person had duly taken, made, and subscribed, the oaths and declaration, or otherwise qualified him or herself, as required by the said act, and now is or shall be prosecuted upon or by virtue of any of the penal statutes, from which Protestant dissenters are exempted by the said act, shall, at any time during such prosecution, take, make, and subscribe, the said oaths and declaration, or, being of the people called Quakers, shall make and subscribe the aforesaid declaration, and also the declaration of fidelity, and subscribe the profession of their Christian belief according to the said act, or before any two of her majesty's justices of the peace (who are hereby required to take and return the same to the next quarter-sessions of the peace, to be there recorded), such person shall be and is hereby entitled to the benefit of the said act, as fully and effectually as if such person had duly qualified himself within the time prescribed by the said act, and shall be thenceforth exempted and discharged from all the penalties and forfeitures incurred by force of any of the aforesaid penal statutes.

And whereas it is or may be doubted whether a preacher or teacher of any congregation of dissenting Protestants, duly in all respects qualified according to the said act, be allowed, by virtue of the said act, to officiate in any congregation, in any county, other than that in which he so qualified himself, although in a congregation or place of meeting duly certified and registered as is required by the said act; be it declared and enacted by the authority aforesaid, that any such preacher or teacher, so duly qualified according to the said act, shall be and is hereby allowed to officiate in any congregation, although the same be not in the county wherein he was so qualified; provided that the said congregation, or place of meeting, hath been, before such officiating, duly certified and registered or recorded according to the said act: and such preacher or teacher shall, if required, produce a certificate of his having so qualified himself, under the hand of the clerk of the peace for the county or place where he so qualified himself, which certificate such clerk of the peace is hereby required to make; and shall also, before any justice of the peace of

such county or place where he shall so officiate, make and subscribe such declaration, and take such oaths as are mentioned, in the said act, if thereunto required.

And be it farther enacted by the authority aforesaid, that on or before the fifteenth day of June next, all advocates, writers to the signet, notaries public, and other members of the college of justice, within that part of her majesty's kingdom of Great Britain called Scotland, shall be and are hereby obliged to take and subscribe the oath appointed by the act of the sixth year of her majesty's reign, entitled, "An act for the better security of her majesty's person and government," before the lords of session of the aforesaid part of her majesty's kingdom, except such of the said persons who have already taken the same: and if any of the persons aforesaid do or shall neglect or refuse to take and subscribe the said oath, as aforesaid, such person shall be *ipso facto* adjudged incapable, and disabled in law to have, enjoy, or exercise, in any manner his said employment or practice.

And be it farther enacted by the authority aforesaid, that in all time coming, no person or persons shall be admitted to the employment of advocate, writer to the signet, notary public, or any office belonging to the said college of justice, until he or they have taken and subscribed the aforesaid oath, in manner as is above directed.

No. XV.

*The schism act, entitled, "An act to prevent the growth of schism, and for the farther security of the churches of England and Ireland, as by law established."**

WHEREAS by an act of parliament made in the thirteenth and fourteenth years of his late majesty king Charles II. entitled, "An act for the uniformity of public prayers, and administration of sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies; and for establishing the form of making, ordaining, and consecrating, bishops, priests, and deacons, in the church of England;" it is amongst other things enacted,

* 12th of queen Anne.

that every schoolmaster keeping any public or private school, and every person instructing or teaching any youth in any house or private family, as a tutor or schoolmaster, should subscribe, before his or their respective archbishop, bishop, or ordinary of the diocess, a declaration or acknowledgment, in which, amongst other things, was contained as follows, viz. "I A. B. do declare, that I will conform to the liturgy of the church of England, as it is now by law established;" and if any schoolmaster or other person, instructing or teaching youth in any private house or family, as a tutor or schoolmaster, should instruct or teach any youth as a tutor or schoolmaster, before licence obtained from his respective archbishop, bishop, or ordinary of the diocess, according to the laws and statutes of this realm, for which he should pay twelve-pence only, and before such subscription and acknowledgment made as aforesaid, then every such schoolmaster and other, instructing and teaching, as aforesaid, should, for the first offence, suffer three months' imprisonment without bail or mainprize: and for every second and other such offence, should suffer three months imprisonment without bail or mainprize, and also forfeit to his majesty the sum of five pounds. And whereas, notwithstanding the said act, sundry Papists, and other persons dissenting from the church of England, have taken upon them to instruct and teach youth, as tutors or schoolmasters, and have for such purpose openly set up schools and seminaries, whereby, if due and speedy remedy be not had, great danger might ensue to this church and state: for the making the said recited act more effectual, and preventing the danger aforesaid, be it enacted by the queen's most excellent majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons in this present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that every person or persons who shall, from and after the first day of August next ensuing, keep any public or private school or seminary, or teach and instruct any youth, as tutor or schoolmaster, within that part of Great Britain called England, the dominion of Wales, or town of Berwick-upon-Tweed, before such person or persons shall have subscribed so much of the said declaration and acknowledgment as is before recited, and shall have had and obtained a licence from the respective arch-

bishop, bishop, or ordinary of the place, under his seal of office (for which the party shall pay one shilling and no more, over and above the duties payable to her majesty for the same), and shall be thereof lawfully convicted, upon an information, presentment, or indictment, in any of her majesty's courts of record at Westminster, or at the assizes, or before justices of oyer and terminer, shall and may be committed to the common jail of such county, riding, city, or town corporate, as aforesaid, there to remain, without bail or mainprize, for the space of three months, to commence from the time that such person or persons shall be received into the said jail.

Provided always, and be it hereby enacted, that no licence shall be granted by any archbishop, bishop, or ordinary, unless the person or persons who shall sue for the same, shall produce a certificate of his or their having received the sacrament according to the usage of the church of England, in some parish-church, within the space of one year next before the grant of such licence, under the hand of the minister and one of the churchwardens of the said parish, nor until such person or persons shall have taken and subscribed the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and abjuration, as appointed by law, and shall have made and subscribed the declaration against transubstantiation, contained in the act made in the twenty-fifth year of the reign of king Charles II. entitled, "An act for preventing dangers which may happen from Popish recusants," before the said archbishop, bishop, or ordinary; which said oaths and declarations the said archbishop, bishop, or ordinary, is hereby empowered and required to administer and receive; and such archbishops, bishops, and ordinaries, are required to file such certificates, and keep an exact register of the same, and of the taking and subscribing such oath and declarations.

And be it farther enacted by the authority aforesaid, that any person who shall have obtained a licence, and subscribed the declarations, and taken and subscribed the oaths, as above appointed, and shall any time after, during the time of his or their keeping any public or private school or seminary, or instructing any youth as tutor or schoolmaster, knowingly or willingly resort to or be present at any conventicle, assembly, or meeting, within England, Wales, or

town of Berwick-upon-Tweed, for the exercise of religion in any other manner than according to the liturgy and practice of the church of England, or shall knowingly and willingly be present at any meeting or assembly for the exercise of religion, although the liturgy be there used, where her majesty (whom God long preserve), and the elector of Brunswick, or such others as shall from time to time be lawfully appointed to be prayed for, shall not there be prayed for in express words, according to the liturgy of the church of England, except where such particular offices of the liturgy are used, wherein there are no express directions to pray for her majesty and the royal family, shall be liable to the penalties in this act, and from thenceforth be incapable of keeping any public or private school or seminary, or instructing any youth as tutor or schoolmaster.

And be it farther enacted by the authority aforesaid, that if any person licensed as aforesaid, shall teach any other catechism than the catechism set forth in the Book of Common Prayer, the licence of such person shall from thenceforth be void, and such person shall be liable to the penalties of this act.

And be it farther enacted by the authority aforesaid, that it shall and may be lawful, to and for the bishop of the diocess, or other proper ordinary, to recite any person or persons whatsoever, keeping school or seminary, or teaching without licence as aforesaid, and to proceed against and punish such person or persons by ecclesiastical censure, subject to such appeals as in cases of ordinary jurisdiction: this act or any other law to the contrary notwithstanding.

Provided always, that no person offending against this act shall be punished twice for the same offence.

Provided also, that where any person shall be prosecuted without fraud or covin in any of the courts aforesaid, for any offence contrary to this act, the same person shall not afterward be prosecuted for the same offence in any of the said courts, whilst such former prosecution shall be pending and carried on without any wilful delay; and in case of any such after-prosecution, the person so doubly prosecuted may allege, plead, or shew forth in his defence against the same, such former prosecution, pending, or judgment, or sentence thereupon given, the said pleader first making oath before the judge or judges of the court, where

such after-prosecution shall be pending, and which said oath he or they are hereby empowered and required to administer, that the said prior prosecution was not commenced or carried on by his means, or with his consent or procurement, or by any fraud or collusion of any other person to his knowledge or belief.

Provided always, that this act, or any thing therein contained, shall not extend, nor be construed to extend, to any tutor, teaching or instructing youth in any college or hall, within either of the universities of that part of Great Britain called England, nor to any tutor who shall be employed by any noblemen or noblewomen, to teach his or her own children, grandchildren, or great-grandchildren only, in his or her family; provided such tutor so teaching any nobleman or noblewoman's family, do in every respect qualify himself according to this act, except only in that of taking a licence from the bishop.

Provided also, that the penalties in this act shall not extend to any foreigner or alien of the foreign reformed churches, allowed or to be allowed by the queen's majesty, her heirs or successors, in England, for instructing or teaching any child or children, or any such foreigner or alien only, as a tutor or schoolmaster.

Provided always, and be it farther enacted by the authority aforesaid, that if any person who shall have been convicted as aforesaid, and thereby made incapable to teach or instruct any youth as aforesaid, shall, after such conviction, conform to the church of England for the space of one year, without having been present at any conventicle, assembly, or meeting, as aforesaid, and receive the sacrament of the Lord's supper, according to the rites and usage of the church of England, at least three times in that year, every such person or persons shall be again capable of having and using a licence to teach school, or to instruct youth as a tutor or schoolmaster, he or they also performing all that is made requisite thereunto by this act.

Provided also, and be it farther enacted, that every such person so convicted, and afterward conforming in manner as aforesaid, shall, at the next term after his being admitted to, or taking upon him to, teach or instruct youth as aforesaid, make oath in writing, in some one of her majesty's courts at Westminster, in public and open court, or at the

next quarter-sessions for that county or place where he shall reside, between the hours of nine and twelve in the forenoon, that he hath conformed to the church of England, for the space of one year before such his admission, without having been present at any conventicle, assembly, or meeting, as aforesaid, and that he hath received the sacrament of the Lord's supper at least three times in the year, which oath shall be there enrolled, and kept upon record.

Provided always, that this act shall not extend, or be construed to extend, to any person who, as a tutor or schoolmaster, shall instruct youth in reading, writing, arithmetic, or any part of mathematical learning only, so far as such mathematical learning relates to navigation, or any mechanical art only, and so as such reading, writing, arithmetic, or mathematical learning, shall be taught in the English tongue only.

And whereas by act of parliament made in Ireland, in the seventeenth and eighteenth years of his said late majesty king Charles II. entitled, "An act for the uniformity of public prayers, and administration of the sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies; and for establishing the form of making, ordaining, and consecrating, of bishops, priests, and deacons, in the church of Ireland;" it is enacted, concerning schoolmasters, and other persons instructing youth in private families, in Ireland, as in and by the above-recited act is enacted concerning schoolmasters and others instructing youth in private families, in that part of Great Britain called England. And whereas it is reasonable, that where the law is the same, the remedy and means for enforcing the execution of the law should be the same; be it therefore enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that all and every the remedies, provisions, and clauses, in and by this act given, made, and enacted, shall extend, and be deemed, construed, and adjudged to extend, to Ireland, in as full and effectual manner as if Ireland had been expressly named and mentioned in all and every the clauses in this act.

No. XVI.

The Repeal, entitled, "An act for strengthening the Protestant interest in these kingdoms."

WHEREAS an act of parliament* was made in the tenth year of the reign of the late queen Anne,† entitled, "An act for preserving the Protestant religion by better securing the church of England as by law established, and for confirming the toleration granted to Protestant dissenters, by an act entitled, 'An act for exempting their majesty's Protestant subjects dissenting from the church of England from the penalties of certain laws;' and for supplying the defects thereof, and for the farther securing the Protestant succession, by requiring the practisers of the law in North Britain to take the oaths, and subscribe the declaration therein mentioned." And whereas part of the said act, as also another act herein after mentioned, have been found to be inconvenient; be it therefore enacted by the king's most excellent majesty, by and with the advice of the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons in parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that the said recited act passed in the tenth year of the late queen Anne,‡ from the beginning thereof to these words, "And it is hereby farther enacted and declared, by the authority aforesaid, that the toleration granted to Protestant dissenters;" and also one act made in the twelfth year of the reign of the late queen Anne, entitled, "An act to prevent the growth of schism, and for the farther security of the churches of England and Ireland as by law established," shall be and are hereby repealed, annulled, and made void.

Provided always, and be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that if any mayor, bailiff, or other magistrate, in that part of Great Britain called England, the dominion of Wales, or town of Berwick-upon-Tweed, or the isles of Guernsey or Jersey, shall knowingly or willingly resort to, or be present at, any public meeting for religious worship,

* 5th of king Geo. I. cap. 4. † 10 Annæ, cap. 2.
‡ 10 Annæ, cap. 2; and 12 Annæ, stat. 2. cap. 7.

other than the church of England as by law established, in the gown, or other peculiar habit, or attended with the ensign or ensigns of or belonging to such his office, that every such mayor, bailiff, or other magistrate, being thereof convicted by due course of law, shall be disabled to hold such office or offices, employment or employments, and shall be adjudged incapable to bear any public office or employment whatsoever within that part of Great Britain called England, the dominion of Wales, and town of Berwick-upon-Tweed, or isles of Jersey and Guernsey.

END OF THE APPENDIX.

THE INDEX.

☞ The letters *n.* and *ns.* stand for note and notes.

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ERRATA.

VOL. I. page 86, line 2, for *pay*, read *day*.
——319,—25, for 1558, read 1588.

VOL. III. page 93, line 4 of the notes, for *honour* read *humour*.

THE END.

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